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# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



## “Hollow Promise” WATERED-DOWN FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL PROVIDES NO NEW JOBS

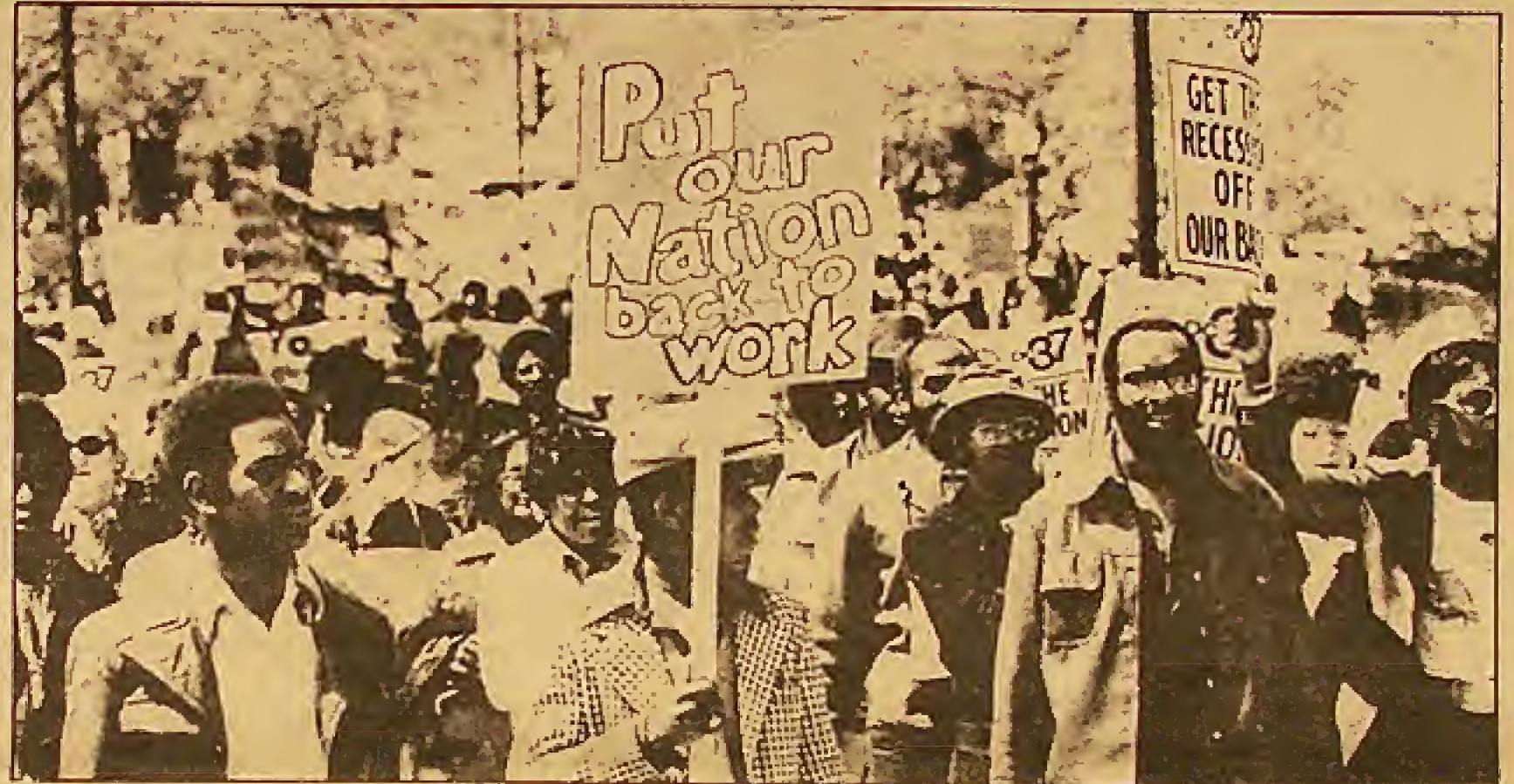
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(Washington, D.C.) - President Carter last week unveiled a compromise version of the controversial Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill — but in such a watered-down form that it will do almost nothing to achieve the original goal of requiring the federal government to assure a job for every American who wants one.

Titled “The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1977,” the proposed legislation neither creates new jobs nor does it mandate any specific government programs to lower skyrocketing rates of unemployment.

Overall unemployment in October, 1977, was 7.0 per cent, with the figure leaping to 13.9 per cent for the Black community as a whole, and to 37.9 per cent for Black teenagers aged 16 to 19. These figures do not take into account the hundreds of thousands of American people who have given up looking for work and dropped out of the job market.

As presented last week by Carter, the measure, which carries the name of Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Representative Augustus Hawkins of California, would set a national goal of reducing unemployment from 7 per cent to 4 per cent in



Black and poor people are demanding more job opportunities. Recent legislation signed by President Carter will do nothing concrete to create badly-needed jobs.

1983, with a target of 3 per cent for all adults 20 years old and over.

Yet the legislation does not authorize particular programs to achieve these goals.

So watered-down is the present version, reached after months of negotiations between Carter administration officials and Congress-  
CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

## Language, Mathematics Emphasized At Model School COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROVIDES INNOVATIVE TESTING

(Oakland, Calif.) - In a city whose predominantly Black public school students scored among the lowest in the state on standardized reading and mathematics tests taken last year (see article, page 3), one nonpublic school, for the seventh year in a row, is producing Black and poor youth whose language and math skills rank two to three grade levels above those of their public school peers.

The model elementary level Oakland Community School (OCS), in the words of a special commendation received from the California legislature this past August, has “...concretely defied the myth of the uneducable child...” and obtained “...the highest level of scholastic achievement in elementary education.”

In an interview with THE BLACK PANTHER last week, OCS Director Ericka Huggins provided some insight into the innovative educational philosophy of the OCS and the invaluable contribution it is making to elementary education in this country.

Explaining the emphasis in the OCS



Children receive individual attention at the Oakland Community School.

curriculum, Ericka, who serves as the only Black member of the Alameda County Board of Education, said:

“We are very, very firm about our language

arts (reading, writing, spelling, and speaking) and mathematics classes. All of the 160 children, ages 2½ to 11, in our school take these subjects five days a week.

“Children, Black children in particular, have to master language and have an understanding of basic mathematics computation in order to survive in this country,” Ericka emphasized. “Since Black people have been in America, these skills have been denied to us.”

The OCS Language Arts Department has devised a reading program that is geared to the individual needs of each child. Children are regularly evaluated in silent and oral reading comprehension skills to determine their reading level and any special problems they may have.

As a result, language instructors for the 16 levels in the school are able to construct a reading program for each child that will enable him or her to progress at that individual's own speed.

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## Editorial

### COMBAT CHILD

### "PORNOGRAPHY"

Speaking of child "pornography":

"Children in Black families are four times more likely to be poor than White children; Native American children suffer even more terrible odds. In large metropolitan areas and in the rural South, the infant mortality rate for minority children is almost double that of Whites. Nutritional deficiencies are over three times more common among Black children (32.7 per cent overall) than among White children. Native American children are 10 times more likely to be placed in foster care than other children."

But who will mount a campaign to wipe out those responsible for the indecencies committed against Black and minority children quoted above from a recent report from the Carnegie Council on Children?

Where is the hysterical outcry and the sweeping, kick-in-the-door arrests of those who create and perpetuate conditions of abject poverty and deprivation in minority communities?

Where are the "war games" against the "terrorists" who prey upon our helpless babies?

Are we just unlucky...victims of a systematic disorder?

Interestingly, the Carnegie report's conclusion provides a tie-in with a closely related misadventure directly affecting the lives of Black and poor people:

"Our conclusions can be summarized in a few words...Far more than a hollow promise of future opportunity for their children, parents need jobs, income and services."

"A hollow promise"? That's exactly the term the *New York Times* uses to describe the compromise Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill endorsed by President Carter last week.

Only a truly "democratic" and caring society such as ours could, staring Depression-level jobless rates stark in the face, develop full employment legislation which neither creates new jobs nor mandates specific, concrete programs to alleviate the problem.

'Tis truly said that "hollow promises," like "swallowed pride," leaves a bitter, lingering aftertaste — one that even our children will never forget. □



### Letters to the Editor

#### "I AM LOCKED-UP"

My Fellow Comrades,

I am writing to commend you on your continuing effort in bringing justice to the people that have been without justice for so long. Brothers and sisters my only regret is that I am "locked up" and can't be out there where I am needed. But I know if I keep striving for the highest level of human dignity, I will be with you all soon. I have a few ideas that may interest you, which in turn will benefit the whole community. So I want all the brothers and sisters to continue to strive for the cause and not "because."

I would like very much to correspond with an "open minded" sister who is interested in building and progressing. I haven't had a decent "rap" with a strong sister in years. But I am not lonely, really I am ashamed. You see the brothers and sisters down here in the South seem satisfied with meager earnings. But I am going to fight to the finish. When I said I am not lonely but

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### Fallen Comrade SPURGEON "JAKE" WINTERS

Assassinated:  
November 13, 1969



Before joining the Chicago Chapter of the Black Panther Party, Spurgeon "Jake" Winters was an honor student in school. Shortly after joining the Party he became a dedicated revolutionary, a hard worker in the Chapter's Free Breakfast Program, Free Health Clinic and Education Cadre. Spurgeon Winters was killed on November 13, 1969, when 100 policemen opened fire on him and another Party member. Three policemen were killed and seven wounded in the attack on the building where the two took refuge. Jake was 19 at the time of his death. Long Live the Spirit of Spurgeon "Jake" Winters Long Live the People's Struggle!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

### COMMENT

## A Ghetto Child From Disgrace To Dignity

The following moving commentary is written by Mrs. Barbara Brown, an active member of Harambee Enterprises, Inc., a nonprofit, Chicago-based prison reform organization.

"Willie Johnson, having been convicted of the offense of murder, it is my judgment that you should be confined in the Illinois State Penitentiary for a term of not less than 25 years nor more than 100 years."

I think that's what he said, or something like it, anyway. I heard one part of it right — not less than 25 years nor more than 100 years. I heard it — even if I couldn't believe it. 100 years!

I heard him say it, but it really didn't penetrate into the deepest part of my mind when he said it. That would come later — in the cell. Not the cell in the Cook County Jail, because it was all still too fresh then. It would finally begin to penetrate deeply in the coldest, loneliest, emptiest place in the world — a prison cell.

A dark, four-corner room of concrete and steel. Dark, no matter how much light you might have from the bulb in the cell. Cold, no matter how much heat they might send through the radiators. Empty, no matter how many possessions you might have accumulated. And lonely — lonelier than you would ever believe.

No matter how many cell partners you might have; no matter how many "friends" you might acquire; no matter how many letters you might get, or how many visits you might get. Because nothing can take away those long, bitter nights when you have no one for company but your own mind. No one to talk to but that voice deep inside you. And no matter how much you might try to avoid it, that's when it all becomes real. That's when the real significance of 100 years in prison really comes down on you — when you have to accept the fact that you have, for all purposes, been socially exterminated.

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### THE BLACK PANTHER

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## SCORES GO DOWN IN SIX AREAS

## OAKLAND SCHOOL TEST RESULTS SHOW SERIOUS LAG

(Oakland, Calif.) - A state report released last week revealed that elementary and high school students in the Oakland Unified School District (OUSD) continue to seriously lag behind their counterparts — locally, statewide and nationally — in reading and mathematics skills.

Overall, Oakland scores on the tests that were administered to second, third, sixth and 12th graders throughout California last year went up in two of the 10

## HORRENDOUS INJUSTICE

## County Board Of Education Denies Transfer Of Child Wrongly Labeled "Retarded"

(Hayward, Calif.) - The Alameda County Board of Education last week denied a transfer request sought by the parents of an 11-year-old, Portuguese-born girl wrongly placed for three years in a class for the educable mentally retarded (EMR) in an Oakland public school.

With only four of the seven Board members present, the interdistrict attendance appeal, involving a transfer from an East

areas tested, stayed the same in two and went down in six. On the sixth grade level, the city's scores were lower than that of any other East Bay district.

Researchers from the state Department of Education calculate from comparison studies with national tests that California students would rank a little above the national average in the second, third and sixth grades and significantly below national averages in the 12th grade.

The implication is disquieting — the longer California students, and Oakland students in particular, are in school, the more poorly they learn in comparison with their peers in other states.

State researcher Dale Carlson said that last year's test results, which follow a tragic pattern established several years ago, indicate that "something is wrong in the system."

"What's going on in the schools between grade two and grade 12?" he pondered to the *Oakland Tribune*.

The OUSD's enrollment is over 80 per cent Black and minority. The Oakland test scores give credence to the demands of parents of these children angered over the now ended school strike (see article, this page) that quality education should have been the major focus of the negotiations between school officials and striking teachers.

Statewide scores, while improved for second, third and sixth



Black teacher in elementary school class. State test results reveal that Black and poor students receive substandard education in the Oakland school system.

graders in some areas and down in others, were lower in all areas for 12th graders.

Third graders performed better on their reading test — answered a greater percentage of the questions correctly — than students in any other grade. State officials explained that second and third graders take the same test, and that third graders are expected to do considerably better because they have had an additional year in which to develop the skills which are

tested both years.

Both the reading (12th percentile, meaning that the students did as well as or better than 12 per cent of the other students tested) and math (16th percentile) scores for Oakland sixth graders were the lowest in the East Bay and in the state. For 12th graders, reading scores (fifth percentile) ranked next to the bottom both in the East Bay (topping only Emeryville) and statewide. Math scores for 12th

## Striking Oakland Teachers Return To Jobs

(Oakland, Calif.) - The 1,800 striking teachers of the Oakland Education Association (OEA) returned to their jobs last Wednesday, after accepting a \$7.9 million "inadequate and insensitive" wage increase and approving an overwhelming vote of "no confidence" in school superintendent Ruth Love and the Oakland Board of Education.

The contract negotiated with officials of the Oakland Unified School District (OUSD) was accepted by a vote of 1,229-507 at the end of the eighth day of the costly strike — costly to the badly needed classes missed by over half of the district's 52,000 students and the \$1.6 million lost in state aid.

Jan Mendelsohn, president of the OEA, said that the strike, which began on Friday, Novem-



Striking Oakland teachers.

ber 4, was ended because teachers felt they would have to remain off the job "for weeks longer" to get "even one or two per cent

more" in salary increases.

Under the three-year contract agreed upon, teachers will be given a six per cent salary increase this year, retroactive to October 15, and a five per cent increase in the second and third years. When negotiations began last June, the OUSD offered a 3.5 per cent salary hike and the OEA teachers demanded 15 per cent.

By 1979, Oakland teachers' salaries will range from a low of \$10,206 to a high of \$21,653, up about \$2,000 from current levels.

The contract also stipulates that the Board of Education will pay increased costs of existing fringe benefits through 1979. These costs amount to another four per cent in salary increases, bringing the total economic package to an overall 20 per cent



ERICKA HUGGINS

Oakland school to one in San Leandro, failed by a vote of 3-1. It takes four votes to pass a motion on the Board of Education.

The plight of the child was first exposed during a heated October 13 Board meeting. The little girl, who has lived in the U.S. since she was four and has spoken English since she was eight years old, was placed in the EMR class on the basis of her scores on a

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## NEW O.C.L.C. WEEKLY PROGRAM

## MINI-MARKET MEANS REDUCED FOOD PRICES FOR SENIORS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), in conjunction with the Food Advisory Service, will be providing East Oakland senior citizens with a weekly supply of fresh fruits and vegetables and a monthly supply of top-quality meats at greatly reduced prices.

Every Tuesday the OCLC-sponsored SAFE (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) program will hold a Mini-Market for East Oakland seniors at 6118 E. 14th Street from 1:30 to 2:30 p.m. at prices substantially lower than those found in supermarkets.

The Food Advisory Services (FAS), the creation of two concerned and hard-working South San Francisco housewives, Patricia Coates and Sandi Piccini, is making the Mini-Market program

available at 48 locations throughout the Bay Area. The FAS is a nonprofit food cooperative which makes weekly deliveries of fresh meat and produce to food clubs throughout a four-county area.

Mrs. Coates explained, "We thought we could feed senior citizens much more reasonably than the (government) agencies that were doing it. We're saving seniors 30 to 50 per cent on their food bills."

"Here we were living like fat cats while people were eating dog food. We wondered just who were helping senior citizens in this youth-oriented society," she continued.

Ms. Coates and Ms. Piccini had established a 34-family food cooperative in their neighborhood in 1973. They found out that not

only did they save on food costs, but their families were healthier.

"We knew that if a good co-op worked for our families, it would work for seniors," explained the South San Francisco housewife.

Last Tuesday senior citizens congregated at the OCLC for the Mini-Market program and it was very obvious that the efforts of the SAFE program and the FAS were very appreciated. Most of the elderly citizens had gotten

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## This Week In Black History



### November, 1526

Black slaves in the first settlement in the United States — a Spanish colony in the area of present-day South Carolina — revolted and fled to Indian-occupied territory in November, 1526.

### November 17, 1842

The capture of George Latimer in Boston in 1842 precipitated the first of several famous fugitive cases. A month after his capture, Boston abolitionists raised enough money to purchase Latimer from his master on November 17, 1842.



Black woman hitchhikes during Montgomery bus boycott.

### November 13, 1956

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision which banned segregation on city busses in Montgomery, Alabama, on November 13, 1956. Federal injunctions prohibiting segregation on the busses were served on city, state and bus company officials a month later, whereupon Montgomery Blacks, at two mass meetings, called off their year-long bus boycott.

### November 16, 1972

Two students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, were killed November 16, 1972, by sheriff's deputies following a peaceful student demonstration for better food and housing and a bigger voice in university decisions. The governor declared a state of emergency and sent the National Guard to seal off the campus.



## Congratulations Johnny, "Pinky"

(Tracy, Calif.) - Black Panther Party member JOHNNY LARRY SPAIN, presently incarcerated at Deuel Vocational Institution here, last Monday afternoon married Ms. "PINKY" MARIE MILLER. The November 14, ceremony, held in the prison chapel, was attended by a few close friends and loved ones of the obviously happy couple. Both the bride and groom are from Los Angeles.

BP/MS photos



## SUMMARY OF PRELIMINARY HEARING TESTIMONY

# LIES, "DEALS" ADD UP TO VICE SQUAD PLOT AGAINST HUEY

"I'm still optimistic that when it gets to Superior Court, we'll win the case."

(Oakland, Calif.) - So spoke Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton, last Monday, November 7, after a Municipal court judge's ruling that he must stand trial on the frame-up murder and assault charges lodged against him.

Indeed, following the conclusion of the seven-day, six-witness preliminary hearing, most courtroom observers and legal experts tend to agree with Huey's confident optimism, pointing out the web of inconsistencies, lies and "deals" tended to substantiate the defense team's assertion of an Oakland police vice squad plot to frame and discredit Huey.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents highlights from the preliminary hearing, focusing on the testimony of three key prosecution witnesses to show the strained nature of the so-called "evidence" against Huey and to expose the police conspiracy that lies at the bottom of the phony allegations.

## RAPHAELLE GARY

Characterized by chief defense counsel Sheldon Otis as a "sick, unmitigated liar," Raphaele Jeanette Gary is a 32-year-old prostitute who claims to be an eyewitness to the shooting of a 17-year-old streetwalker named Kathleen Smith on August 6, 1974. In her day and a half on the stand, Ms. Gary:

- Admitted using the aliases "Crystal Grey," "Crystal Carol," "Little Mama," "Carla Alexander" and "Christine Grey" during her 10 years on the streets;

- Admitted that she was "loaded" on marijuana, nearsighted, nightblind, and that the corner of 29th and San Pablo was poorly-lit on the night of the incident;

- Identified Huey as the man who approached her "a month or so" after the August 6 incident, and insisted that this was the same person who shot Ms. Smith - yet even the prosecution has agreed to stipulate that Huey had left the state of California by August 17 or 18;

- Claimed that the man who shot Ms. Smith had "black hair, slicked back, like a process or

good hair would be";

- Claimed to be the only person near Ms. Smith when the shooting incident occurred and that other prostitutes out that night were far down the block - only to be contradicted by another "eyewitness" who claims she never saw Ms. Gary;

- Admitted that she did not identify Huey's picture the day after the incident when she was shown a photo line-up by the police, but identified the picture over a week later;

- At first emphatically denied, but later after "huddling" with prosecutor Tom Orloff could "neither deny or affirm" discussing the August 6 incident (for \$250) with a freelance journalist named Jessica Barnes who surreptitiously taped the conversation. On the tape, Ms. Gary can be audibly heard:

(1) Asking for the \$250; (2) Saying that the police told her they wanted "to get" Huey, and that they already had enough evidence to "put Newton away" before she identified his picture

## PHONY BANK ACCOUNTS PLANNED TO DISCREDIT HUEY

# F.B.I. Secret War Against B.P.P.

The following is the conclusion of a special three-part series in THE BLACK PANTHER detailing portions of the FBI's 11-year-long secret war against the Black Panther Party. The information for this series comes from previously-suppressed federal police files recently released to Black Panther Party Founder and President Huey P. Newton under the Freedom of Information Act.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Dated June 27, 1973, the report from the special agent-in-charge of the San Francisco FBI office to the acting director in Washington, D.C., reads:

"Huey Percy Newton is a co-founder of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and is the leader of the BPP faction headquartered in Oakland, California. Although the Newton-led faction of the BPP

HUEY P. NEWTON with his brother LEE EDWARD (right), close friends and young supporters after recent court hearing.



HUEY P. NEWTON.



from a photo line-up:

(3) Saying, "I was told if I testified for the state they would give me money and set me up somewhere else";

(4) Saying she was promised "no more cases" [no more prostitution arrests], "money" and "plane tickets to the Bahamas" [for Ms. Gary and a woman friend] if she testified against Huey.

- Admitted meeting with Orloff after listening to the Barnes tape;

- Admitted calling Orloff for help after an April, 1977, arrest on a 1975 felony prostitution charge, a failure to appear in court citation and parole violation for two prior convictions;

- Claimed she didn't think a "deal" was made when the case went to court in July, 1977, and she was allowed to plead guilty to a misdemeanor count of disorderly conduct (one year probation), with the two "priors" dropped;

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has recently adopted a 'peaceful' stance and is directing its current activities toward political and social welfare programs. Newton has not categorically renounced the advocacy of the use of armed violence to bring about the overthrow of the U.S. government....On the basis of Newton's potential for revolutionary activity it is the recommendation of the San Francisco Office that Newton warrants retention as a key extremist."

The date is significant, 1973: after the FBI claims its notorious COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) operation ended in 1971.

Testifying before the Senate Select Committee headed by Senator Frank Church in 1975, FBI officials admitted that from 1969 to 1971, 233 of a total of 295 "approved" COINTELPRO plots were targeted against the Black Panther Party.

The implication, of course, was that the illegal surveillance, harassments and frame-ups in-

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## Vice Squad Plot Against Huey

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•Admitted that when she was arrested in July, 1977, in Emeryville on charges of receiving stolen goods she contacted Orloff again;

•Admitted that shortly after her phone call to Orloff, she and her girlfriend were released from jail on their own recognizance, with the initial \$3,000 bail dropped.

### MICHELLE JENKINS

A veteran of the streets since she was 13, Michelle Yvette Jenkins, 20, was another "star" prosecution witness who claims to have been an eyewitness to the shooting of Ms. Smith. During her half a day in court, Ms. Jenkins:

•Admitted using the aliases "Candy Robinson," "Maria Robinson" and "Michelle Robinson";

•Claimed that she and Ms. Smith were the only two women "working" the corner of 29th and San Pablo the night of the incident — flatly contradicting the previous testimony of Ms. Gary;

•Admitted telling the police that the man who shot Ms. Smith had at least half his hair braided, had a mustache and was 5'2" or 5'3" tall (Huey is 5'11");

•Admitted that when she was arrested for prostitution in San Francisco just two days before her testimony, she called the Alameda County district attorney's office and was immediately released on her own recognizance despite prior convictions;

•Contradicted prosecutor Orloff's scare/fear tactics, by strongly implying that she worked as a prostitute the night before her testimony;

•Admitted that she didn't come forward with her alleged "eyewitness" story until four days after the incident;

•Was not allowed to testify that she called the police a day before her testimony to tell them that she "saw" Preston Callins, the tailor who claims Huey assaulted him, driving a car with two Black men in the back seat, one with a gun, berating him. A police check found Callins at home with his wife. (Presiding Judge J. Robert Friberg ruled this revealing story inadmissible.)

### RICHARD BRIERLY

A White sergeant with the Oakland Police Department, Brierly actually confirmed the defense contention of a vice squad plot to frame and discredit Huey. During his day on the stand,



Prostitutes MICHELLE JENKINS (above) and RAPHAELLE GARY are key figures in vice squad conspiracy to frame BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON, shown with chief counsel SHELDON OTIS.



Brierly:

•Admitted that he didn't follow up on concrete leads provided by both Ms. Smith's mother and boyfriend, specifically naming individuals who might have committed the shooting;

•Admitted that he received a phone call from a Black Oakland cop named Tyson (whom he knew had a personal grudge against Huey), providing information from an "anonymous source" implicating the BPP leader;

•Admitted that he telephoned

the Oakland vice squad for help in the case after receiving Tyson's call;

•Admitted that without a search warrant he asked the building engineer (an FBI informant named Rodger DuClot) at Huey's then residence to open the garage so that he (Brierly) could inspect a car said to belong to Huey;

•Admitted that he was "interested" in convicting Huey;

•Admitted that he offered Michelle Jenkins "help" when-



ever she got into trouble in exchange for her testimony against Huey.

Commenting on the hearing following its conclusion, chief counsel Sheldon Otis aptly summed up:

"This preliminary hearing certainly indicates that there was a conspiracy to frame Huey, using seedy-type witnesses and pressuring them to give testimony against him. That's the type of evidence that came out of this hearing." □

## Oakland Results Show Lag

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

graders (18th percentile) were third from the bottom.

The public school populations in Oakland and San Francisco are the largest in the Bay Area and have other similarities. Yet, a look at the test scores of the two school districts reveals greater improvement last year among San Francisco students.

While Oakland scores went up in two areas, stayed the same in two and went down in six compared to the previous year; San Francisco scores overall went up in seven areas, down in two and stayed the same in two.

Oakland second graders scored in the 19th percentile in reading, down from the 23rd percentile the year before. San Francisco

## Child Wrongly Labeled "Retarded"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

culturally biased I.Q. test. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, October 22, 1977.)

The parents of the child signed a form in April, 1975, agreeing that their daughter could be placed in a "special" or EMR class. Neither parent, however, speaks or reads English and, therefore, did not understand what they were signing. Oakland school officials did not provide an interpreter.

At the insistence of Board member Ericka Huggins, who severely criticized the "horrendous injustice" done to the child, the little girl was placed in a regular fifth grade class on November 1.

However, due to the continuing physical abuse the 11-year-old

girl suffers from some of the children at the school, her parents, who live in East Oakland, unsuccessfully sought her transfer to a San Leandro school.

An interpreter for the child's family told the Board of Education last week that the harassment and abuse she has received have upset her to the point that she often becomes very ill when it is time to go to school.

Ericka asked if the child had been tested since her placement in the fifth grade class. It was explained that the *Larry P. vs. Riles* lawsuit, brought by Black parents who charge that I.Q. tests discriminate against Black children (see article, page 11), has temporarily halted I.Q. tests from being given in the state's public schools. □



Children in Oakland public schools lag far behind state and national averages in reading and math skills.

second graders, on the other hand, scored in the 47th percentile, up from the 30th percentile the year before.

OSD third graders were in the 16th percentile, the same as the previous year. Their San Francisco counterparts were in the 38th percentile, up from the 22nd in 1975-76.

As last year, the highest sixth grade East Bay scores were made in the predominantly White, 33-student Canyon Elementary District in Contra Costa County. Students in the tiny school district answered every question correctly on the reading and math tests. □



## Key Questions Remain Following S.F. District Elections

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Following last week's district elections for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, it still has to be resolved who will serve two-year terms and who will serve four-year terms. Also, it remains to be seen who will be president of the county board.

Under the provisions of district elections, supervisors will serve staggered terms, with supervisorial elections every two years. A flip of the coin in early January will determine who will serve two-year terms and who will serve four-year terms. Then all subsequent supervisors will serve four-year terms.

Traditionally, the president of the board has been the member who received the most votes in a citywide election. It is not known whether this practice will be followed, which would give the post to Quentin Kopp since the conservative candidate ran unopposed.

### 80 YEARS

Last week's district elections, the first in 80 years in this city, saw the reelection of six incumbents, all of whom are political conservatives. Supervisors Gordon Lau, Quentin Kopp, Ronald Pelosi, Dianne Feinstein, and John Molinari have no real ties to the city's poor.

Add to this the seating of two ultra-conservatives, political science instructor Lee Dolson and fireman and ex-policeman Dan White, and right-wing to moderate interests have a solid 8 to 3 vote majority on the Board of Supervisors.

The only bright spots in last Tuesday's balloting were the election of Ella Hill Hutch (District 4), Harvey Milk (District 5) and Carol Ruth Silver (District 6).

All three of these new supervisors have been active in issues which are vital to the community. Mrs. Hutch, vice-president of the BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) Board, is a founding member of Black Women Organized for Political Action (BWOPA) and has taken a firm stand in favor of poor and working people on many issues.

Her district, which encompasses the Western Addition and the

## NEW BLACK MAYOR IN NEW ORLEANS, BOSTON RACISTS DEFEATED

(New Orleans, La.) - Black voters here and in Boston, Massachusetts, scored stunning victories last week when Ernest (Dutch) Morial became the first Black mayor of New Orleans and John O'Bryant became the first Black person elected to the School Committee in 75 years.

Morial's mayoral race against a White three-time councilman, Joseph DiRosa, had gained national attention.

Morial, the first Black graduate of Louisiana State University (LSU) Law School and the first Black member of the Louisiana House of Representatives, ran a low-key campaign. Eight years ago DiRosa had defeated Morial in a city council election.

The race issue surfaced when Black U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young (a native of New Orleans) spoke in the city and warned that New Orleans would be "on trial" during the election.

"Industrial leaders and the world," said Young at a speaking engagement at the predominantly Black Dillard University, "are taking note to see if New Orleans has indeed eliminated the problem of racism."

Young was angrily denounced as an "outsider" by DiRosa, and

in turn Morial charged that the former councilman overreacted in an attempt to capitalize on the issue of race.

In the election last Saturday, Morial captured 51.5 per cent of the vote, winning all but five of 22 wards. The Black attorney won



New Orleans' new Black mayor, EDWARD MORIAL, with his daughter MONIQUE.

almost all of the Black vote, along with gaining considerable support in the liberal White community to become the Deep South's second Black mayor. (Maynard Jackson, the mayor of Atlanta,

was elected to a second term in June.)

Morial commented that support from Blacks, Latinos and Whites from all of the different social and economic levels put him into office.

"That constituency is representative of the mix of the city," he said.

"I think that gives us a much broader mandate than simply an overwhelming number [of votes] would," the new Black mayor commented.

Meanwhile, in Boston, community health administrator John O'Bryant gained a seat on the notoriously racist School Committee while three anti-busing Whites were removed in an upset election.

The most notable upset was the defeat of Louise Day Hicks, an unashamed racist who has led a campaign against school desegregation in Boston for over a decade.

Her slogan, "You Know Where I Stand," had made her a national symbol of White resistance to school busing.

Two other anti-busing advocates, Elvira "Pixie" Palladino and John Kerrigan, also met defeat in the at-large elections.

Anti-busing forces refused to concede that Boston voters had rejected their racist views on education, claiming that there were internal differences within their movement. Kerrigan's defeat was expected, however, when it was revealed he had put a woman on the city payroll on a \$300-a-week "no-show" job. □

## Black Mayor Survives Albany Recall

(Albany, Calif.) - Although Albany's Black mayor, Joyce Jackson, retained her seat in last Tuesday's recall election here, conservative forces were successful in removing progressive city councilmen Michael Gleason and Pat Griffin from office.

Both Gleason and Griffin lost their seat by very slim margins. For Gleason, the vote was 2,639 for recall, 2,221 opposed; for Griffin, the vote was 2,644 to 2,211.



Albany Black Mayor JOYCE JACKSON, and recalled Councilmen MICHAEL GLEASON and PAT GRIFFIN.

Mrs. Jackson retained her seat by a narrow 2388 to 2465. The Black mayor's very, very narrow victory was attributed to a last minute series of endorsements for her in local newspapers by some of the city's conservative and moderate elements, reports the *San Francisco Examiner*.

By a 2-1 vote Albany voters chose to fill the vacant seats in a \$20,000 special election instead of by council appointment. A date for the election has not been set

but it will be held some time in February. The Albany Council, however, is expected to fill the vacancies created by the recall of Gleason and Griffin with appointees who will serve until the special election.

Gleason, Griffin and Mrs. Jackson were accused by conservative forces of trying to "turn Albany into another Berkeley." The results of the recall election are viewed as a victory by the reactionary "old guard" of the city over Albany's newer, younger and more open-minded residents.

Jackson, Gleason and Griffin, who held the Council majority, were charged with being responsible for a higher city budget and for being "anti-business."

The three liberal Councilpersons were constantly at odds with City Administrator James Turner and with officials in the police and fire departments. This dispute reached a peak last spring when

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



## ECONOMISTS PREDICT BLEAK JOBS OUTLOOK

# BLACK YOUTH FACE WIDENING INCOME GAP

(Ann Arbor, Mich.) - A substantial income gap will continue between young Blacks and young Whites for the next decade, according to University of Michigan economists.

A continuing University of Michigan survey that has estimated the financial growth of 5,000 American families for the next 10 years found a bleak job outlook for young Blacks.

Disspelling a common racist notion, Saul Hoffman, an assistant economics professor at the University of Delaware, says, "The popular belief these days is that Whites are in trouble (because of affirmative action) and people think Blacks, except possibly teenagers, are doing well. But that just isn't the case."

Contributing to the income gap, Hoffman said, was an "astonishingly high" unemployment rate among Blacks between 20 and 29, race discrimination and the fact that Blacks are more likely than Whites to wind up in dead-end jobs.

Among young persons who had worked for six years as of 1967, the survey found Whites earned about \$3.30 per hour while the average hourly wage for Blacks was about \$2.40.

"Over the following eight years," Hoffman said, "the earnings of the White workers in this group grew almost a dollar an hour, after adjustments for inflation, while the earnings of the Blacks grew by only 45 cents."

"As a result, average Black earnings were then only about



*The unemployment rate among Black people between the ages of 20 and 29 is "astonishingly high," according to a recent report.*

two-thirds (66 per cent) as large as average White earnings, compared to almost three-fourths (75 per cent) as large in 1967," Hoffman said.

Two-thirds of the Blacks between 20 and 29 in the survey were unemployed at least once during the period from 1967 to 1974.

Affirmative action "doesn't seem to have filtered through successfully to young Blacks," Hoffman said.

The survey's findings bolstered



a theory held by many economists, says Hoffman, that a dual labor market exists in which Blacks are limited to less attractive, less lucrative jobs.

"This study suggests that affirmative action is clearly necessary — the problem is not going away and will not resolve itself," Hoffman said. □

## Key Questions Remain Following S.F. District Elections

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Tenderloin sections of the city, is one of the city's poorest areas and will need strong representation.

Mrs. Hutch is in support of rent

### Albany Recall

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Turner was fired for being "out of step" with the Council majority.

Shortly afterwards, conservative Albany housewife Janis Mulhall organized the recall campaign, with considerable backing from business and real estate interests in this small East Bay city with a largely White working-class population.

There is a possibility that both Gleason and Griffin may seek reelection in February, setting the stage for another battle between conservative and progressive political forces in Albany. □

control as a last resort for putting a ceiling on the city's astronomical rents. She also is in favor of childcare "for those who need it."

— GAY ACTIVIST

Gay activist Harvey Milk, called by some observers the most radical of all the supervisors, believes that public transportation should be free. Milk also is in support of more childcare services and a civilian police review board.

Carol Ruth Silver, a civil rights attorney, has come out in favor of increasing job opportunities for minority youth, "regular free pickup or dumpster service" for low-income neighborhoods and "the legal rights of tenants."

Her district has a large Spanish-speaking population and Ms. Silver has stressed that she will make the problems of undocu-

mented workers an issue during her term as a supervisor.

Progressive candidates in last week's election were severely hampered by a low voter turnout. It was predicted that there would be a 65 per cent voter turnout but only 51 per cent actually came out to vote. This low turnout had a drastic effect in District 7, where a Black candidate, Victor Medearis, lost to Gonzales by only 21 votes (2,622 to 2,601). Had there been a substantially higher voter turnout, community activist Bob Covington would have definitely defeated Lee Dolson in District 9, where 80 per cent of the residents are non-White.

Covington's defeat, 3,535 votes to Dolson's 4,409, was ironic in that the Black consultant was one of the chief architects of the movement to establish district elections in San Francisco. □

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### Cop Guilty Of Murder

(San Gabriel, Calif.) - Billy Joe McIlvain, a former San Gabriel policeman, was found guilty of first-degree murder and kidnapping involving the February 28 death of David Dominguez, an 18-year-old Chicano. Dominguez was found dead on McIlvain's living room floor hours after the ex-policeman supposedly arrested him. Dominguez had been shot three times each with a .357 revolver and two shotguns.

### War Games?

(Washington, D.C.) - A recent report to President Carter's cabinet calls for "a small group at the highest level of government" with direct access to the president to conduct "war games" to prepare for the alleged threat of terrorism. In his special report, Robert H. Kupperman speculated on what might have happened had New York's City's recent power blackout lasted five days: "Looters would run wild...and jittery National Guardsmen shooting into crowds of panicked people; food and water would become scarce...." This elite team, Kupperman said, could develop blueprints and rehearse them in classical military style by "playing [war] games" in preparation "to coordinate and expedite government actions" in "possibly realistic scenarios" such as the recent New York blackout.

### Blacks Beaten In Boston

(Boston, Mass.) - Charles Battles, 26, a history teacher, and his wife and a group of 12 students from an all-Black Pennsylvania Seventh Day Adventist boarding school were touring Boston's historic sites last week when they were attacked near the Bunker Hill monument by a band of Whites wielding sticks and golf clubs. Three White men were arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon. The Black school teacher and four of the students were injured. "We didn't say a thing. It all happened so fast," said Miriam Battles, the teacher's wife. "They came at us, and I don't know why. We are non-combative."



## RULED "ACCIDENTAL"

# Chicago Cop Senselessly Shoots Black 14-Year-Old In Head

(Chicago, Ill.) - A policeman shot a 14-year-old Black youth in the back of the head, critically wounding him while searching the youth and two companions on a South Side street corner.

Tyrone Neal underwent surgery at Billings Hospital after being senselessly shot by Patrolman Frederic Everly. Deputy Police Superintendent Carl Dobrich immediately said the shooting appeared to be "accidental."

After picking up two robbery victims in their patrol car, Everly and his partner began to search the area.

One of the victims pointed at Neal and his two companions standing on a street corner.

According to police, the two officers had begun to search Tyrone and the other two teenagers when Everly's gun "went off" sending a bullet through the back of Tyrone's head.

## THREE WITNESSES

Three witnesses said they watched as the police lined the three up against the wall outside of a barber shop.

Sultan Mahmud, 42, owner of the barber shop, said that the incident began when the police pulled up, jumped out of their car with their guns drawn and stopped the three youths.

"I didn't see anybody do anything to make that officer shoot," said Mahmud.

Another witness, Mrs. Lola Goldsmith, who watched the shooting from her sun porch 50 yards away, said that the teenagers had been searched before the shooting, the *Chicago Tribune* reports. She said that Everly's partner had searched each one while Everly held his gun to their head.

Mrs. Elvira Irons, whose apartment window has a direct view of the well-lit shooting scene, said that she saw that all three still had their hands on the wall when the shot was fired.

"The officer who shot the boy was just walking around rubbing his head, and shaking his head," said Mrs. Hildegard Lynch, who raced to the street after the shooting.

"He knew he had done wrong by shooting the boy."

## TECHNICALITY IN TENNESSEE LAW

# NEW TRIAL FOR JAMES EARL RAY?

(Memphis, Tenn.) - Lawyers for James Earl Ray are confidently predicting that the convicted assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. will get his day in court - in the form of a full re-hearing into the King murder case.

Attorney Mark Lane, recently hired as Ray's principal defense lawyer, claims he has uncovered a rarely used provision in Tennessee law that guarantees his client the new trial he has been seeking for the past eight-and-a-half years.

According to Tennessee Statute 17-117, if a defendant appeals his conviction but the trial judge dies before rendering a decision on the appeal, then the defendant wins a new trial, reports noted author/researcher Donald Freed for *Pacific News Service*.

This, according to Lane, is precisely what happened in the James Earl Ray case. Ray pleaded guilty on March 10, 1969, then fired off a letter and a motion for a new trial to the judge who presided over his case, W. Preston Battle.

However, Judge Battle died suddenly of a heart attack less than three weeks later without ruling on the Ray motion. Ironically, Judge Battle was found slumped over his desk top with Ray's petition beneath him, according to the court clerk who discovered the body.

As Lane reads it, Statute 17-117 is so specific that it alone would be enough to guarantee

## Georgia Appeals Court Allows "Confessions" In Dawson 5 Case

(Atlanta, Ga.) - The chief defense lawyer for the Dawson 5, five Black youths falsely charged with murder, bitterly denounced the Georgia judicial system for its racism last week after the state Court of Appeals reversed a decision which had suppressed an alleged confession by one of the defendants, Roosevelt Watson.

Defense lawyer Millard Farmer charged that the new ruling had been made "to cover up the wrongs of other judges."

The defense contends that the confession had been obtained through coercion and intimidation by the Dawson police.

Watson, 21, was threatened with castration and electrocution while wired to a polygraph (lie-detector) machine. The alleged confession was made orally, reports the *New York Times*, and was never written down.



Slain civil rights leader MARTIN LUTHER KING playing with Black children.

Ray his first full-length public hearing into the evidence of the case. Lane's staff is currently preparing the motion for a new trial.

"If the law of Tennessee is respected by the courts of Tennessee, then Ray will get a new trial," Lane said. "If he does, we

are confident he will be acquitted."

However, one Tennessee prosecutor was not convinced that Ray's guilty verdict would be automatically reversed. The prosecutor, who did not wish to be quoted because of pending litigation, CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



ROOSEVELT WATSON

Watson later denied the confession was valid.

During preliminary hearings, a former Dawson cop testified that he had observed another officer holding a pistol to the head of another defendant, cocking it and

demanding to know where a pistol allegedly used in the slaying was thrown.

The five Black youths are falsely charged with the killing of a White ranch hand in a Dawson grocery store. The defense insists that all of the youths are being framed in the case.

Dawson Superior Court Judge Walter Geer had heard the original motion to dismiss the case and to suppress all of the alleged confessions, obtained by the police in mid-August of this year. Geer refused to dismiss the case but did not rule on the motion to suppress the confessions.

Later, Geer removed himself from the case, supposedly due to poor health. The judge who succeeded him, Leonard Farkas, ruled to suppress the confession CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



## 2,000 SIGNATURES FOR INVESTIGATION AND INDICTMENT

## BENAVIDEZ COMMITTEE TO MEET ATTORNEY GENERAL — DEMAND TRIAL FOR KILLER COP

(San Francisco, Calif.)— The Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes (BBCAPC) held a press conference here last week to discuss the current status of an FBI investigation into the murder of 21-year-old Jose Barlow Benavidez in 1976, and to announce their forthcoming meeting with U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell.

The BBCAPC was formed in 1976 immediately after the brutal June 11 police murder. The oldest of 13 children, Benavidez was shot in the back of the head at point-blank range with a shotgun wielded by rookie Oakland cop Michael Cogley.

Gilbert Mendoza, a leading member of BBCAPC and an active organizer in Oakland's Chicano community, cited widespread community support for the indictment of Cogley for the murder of Benavidez.

"What happened to Barlow Benavidez," said Mendoza, "was not an isolated incident. It is part of a pattern of police over-reaction, excessive use of repression and intimidation which characterizes police conduct in Chicano, Third World and low-income communities.

"Over 70 organizations have



ANDREA BENAVIDEZ, ED ROYBAL and GILBERT MENDOZA demanded the prosecution of Oakland killer cop Michael Cogley at recent press conference.

endorsed our efforts," said Mendoza, "including churches, unions and a wide range of community groups."

Mendoza also pointed out the active Congressional support the Committee has received from Senators Alan Cranston of California and Birch Bayh of Indiana, and from at least 10 members of the House of Representatives.

The bulk of the Committee support, stressed Mendoza, has come from the community.

"We estimate that at least 1,000 letters and mailgrams have been sent to Washington de-

manding federal action," said Mendoza.

Edward Roybal, attorney for the Benavidez family, then spoke with regard to the current status of the investigation and the Committee's current plans.

Roybal, the son of a Los Angeles congressman, explained that a federal investigation has been in progress since June, 1977, under Title 18, Section 242 of the U.S. Code. This section makes it a crime for any person acting under the "color" of law to wilfully violate the civil rights of another.

The FBI began interviewing eyewitnesses early in October, said Roybal, and on November 4, 1977, the probe was broadened to include the illegal harassment of the Benavidez family by the Oakland Police Department.

Roybal stressed the importance of investigating the issue of harassment, stating that "the intimidation of witnesses and the family is part of the pattern of cover-up on the local level."

In a letter to Attorney General Bell, Roybal proposed a meeting to discuss the investigation. Sometime in late November or early December, members of the BBCAPC intend to travel to Washington, D.C., in hopes of meeting with Bell.

Congressmen Ronald Dellums, Pete Stark and Edward Roybal, Sr., have all indicated they would participate in such a meeting. The meeting will also include Gilbert Mendoza, a member of the clergy and attorney Ruben Sandoval.

Roybal explained, "We would like to get a commitment from the Justice Department to prosecute the case. At this point the basic investigation is complete, so they now have the facts."

After the press conference a delegation went to the office of the U.S. attorney to present him with 2,000 signatures on petitions demanding a complete investigation of the Benavidez case and the indictment of officer Michael Cogley. □

## New Trial For James Earl Ray?

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tion in the case, said the statute may only apply to civil and not to criminal proceedings.

Ray's attorneys have filed other motions, including the following:

•Ray contends he was "coerced" and even blackmailed by the FBI into pleading guilty by threats to put his elderly father into prison. In an affidavit, Ray claims that just two days before he went to trial in 1969, both he

and his brothers were visited by federal agents who claimed to have discovered that Ray's father, George Ray, had violated a parole condition in the state of Iowa in the mid-1920's.

## AFFIDAVIT

According to the affidavit, Ray was told by the FBI that his father "would be returned to die in prison" if he (James) failed to cooperate with prosecutors by pleading guilty to King's murder.

•Ray also alleges that in a similar sworn statement that an FBI agent named Robert Jensen, the special agent in charge of the Nashville office, visited him in prison within 48 hours of his conviction in 1969. Ray charges that Jensen warned him to "go along with the Bureau" by not appealing his conviction. He claims Jensen told him he would be "sorry" if he attempted to win a new trial, and says he was warned that if he persisted in his appeal efforts, one or two of his brothers would join him in prison.

Even if Ray does not win a new trial, he may get his chance to speak out publicly in the King case — if he chooses to do so. According to Lane, the House Select Committee on Assassinations has said it would like to question Ray about the King assassination during open, public hearings in Washington, D.C., perhaps next spring.

Lane reports that, in preparation for the upcoming public sessions, House investigators are scheduled to question Ray in his Brushy Mountain penitentiary cell on November 14. □

## Appeals Court Allows "Confessions" In Dawson 5 Case

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of Watson, the first of the five defendants to come to trial.

However, this ruling was reversed by the Court of Appeals, which said that a hearing should have been held by Farkas before the suppression.

Farmer pointed out that Farkas' ruling to suppress was made in response to a motion altogether different than the one presented to Geer — one to dismiss the case — and that Farkas had heard evidence on that motion.

The case of the Dawson 5 has gained national support and has aroused the formerly quiet Black community of Dawson. Located in "Terrible" Terrell County, Dawson was the scene of brutal repression during the civil rights struggles of the 1960's.

"We could appeal to the Supreme Court, but we don't plan to," said Farmer. "We feel very confident in taking it to the people." □



MARTIN LUTHER KING (center) and his wife CORETTA lead urban civil rights march.



# PARENTS, KIDS, POVERTY: THE VICIOUS CIRCLE WIDENS

(New York, N.Y.) - What is the most serious threat to the well-being of this country's most valuable resource — its children?

According to a recent report released by the Carnegie Council on Children, it is not the child molester walking the street, the parent who lashes out in anger and batters children or even the breakdown of an educational system that leaves millions of high school graduates functionally illiterate.

At issue is something far more basic, according to the council: jobs for their parents at a living wage.

"The single most important factor that stacks the deck against tens of millions of American children is poverty," states the council report, titled, "All Our Children."

"We estimate that a quarter to a third of all American children are born into families with financial strains so great that their children will suffer basic deprivations.

"Of all age groups in America, children are the most likely to be poor," the report continues.

"In 1974, more than 17 million children were living below our [poverty] figure," the *Guardian* reports.

The Council's report, authored by Kenneth Keniston, chairman of the Council and professor of human development at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is the result of a five-year, 221-page study by Council members.



"Children from Black families," says a report, "are four times more likely to be poor than White children."

It offers a multitude of facts on the traps of poverty: the one-fifth of poor and minority children who have not seen a doctor in two years although they are four times as likely to need medical help than children from families with a decent income; the thou-

sands of children removed from their homes and institutionalized "Based on the parents' inability to provide a child with necessities due to poverty"; poor children who are five times less likely to attend college as well-off children. CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

## Biased I.Q. Tests Perpetuate Anglo Dominance

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Blasting institutionalized racism in public education, a pioneer sociology researcher last week told U.S. District Court Judge Robert Peckham that a careful look at history shows "schools have been used as a very significant instrument in perpetuating the continued dominance in this society of the Anglo group that came here first."

This political, social and cultural bias has been achieved, said Dr. Jane Mercer, a professor of sociology at the University of California at Riverside, by public schools and psychologists "who invented tests made to reflect the cultural materials of only one cultural group — the English-speaking Anglo group — in spite of the fact that 45 to 50 cultural



Black children are put in inferior classes due to biased I.Q. tests.

streams have come into this country."

Resuming her place on the stand after a 10-day recess, Dr. Mercer's testimony came in support of the plaintiffs in the case, six Black children who through their parents filed a class action lawsuit in 1971. The suit contends that standard I.Q. tests are racially- and culturally-biased against non-White children and result in a disproportionate number of Blacks placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR).

Defendants in the case are state schools superintendant Wil- CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

### CALIF. SUPREME COURT HEARING FOR INDIAN ACTIVIST

## Dennis Banks Continues Fight Against Extradition To South Dakota

(Sacramento, Calif.) - Attorneys for former American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks and California Governor Jerry Brown went before the California Supreme Court last week in an attempt to prevent Banks' extradition to South Dakota.

Banks is facing a sentence of up to 15 years in prison in South Dakota as a result of his arrest on false charges stemming from a 1973 demonstration at a courthouse in Custer, South Dakota.

After Banks' arrest here in the Bay Area in 1976, Brown refused to extradite the Native American activist back to South Dakota.

Attorneys for Brown spoke before the state supreme court and insisted that a decision for asylum for Banks is up to the governor and is justified due to



DENNIS BANKS.

"extremely volatile" information that cannot be revealed.

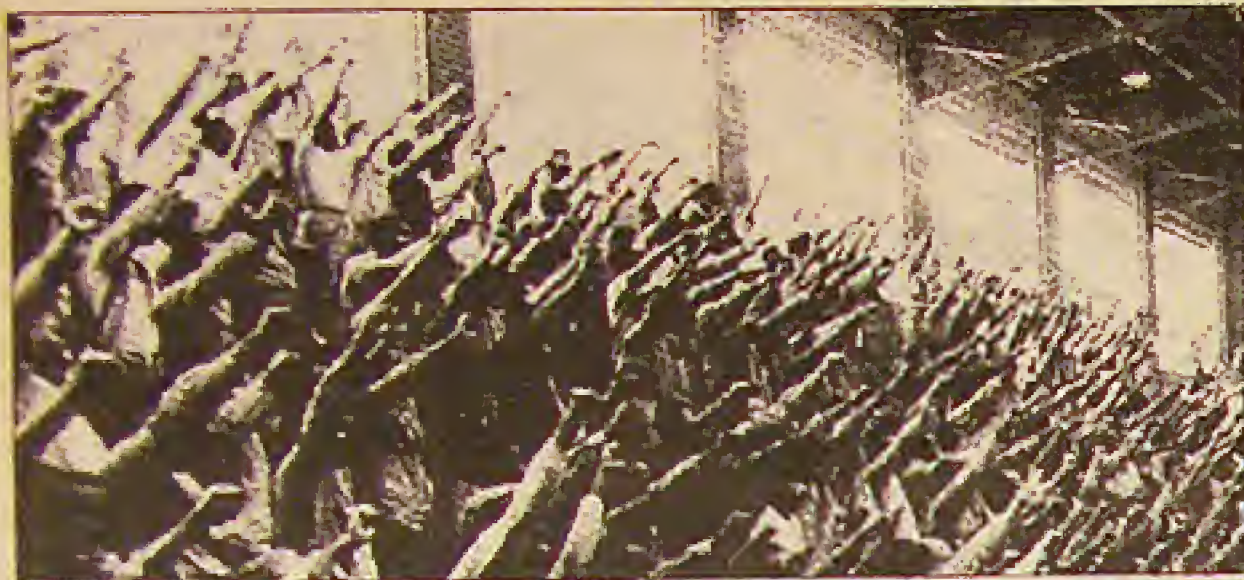
At the extradition hearing

Banks explained that South Dakota "is a very racist state. The sole purpose of extradition," he said, "is to get me back to South Dakota to kill me."

Deputy Attorney General Greg Baugher told the justices that they would be "second-guessing the governor" if they order extradition. Baugher explained that Brown was asserting that, "If he has information a fugitive faces imminent danger of death or serious bodily injury, he can decide he's going to sit back and wait for the situation to abate."

State public defender Paul Halvonik, speaking in support of Banks, pointed out that an 1861 U.S. Supreme Court decision ruled that the Court, and Congress could not impose more than a "moral obligation" on governors to extradite. □





Militant prisoners protest inhumane jail conditions and brutal treatment by guards.



## A Ghetto Child—From Disgrace To Dignity

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Accept it or end up in the bughouse down in Menard full of thorazine — or the real mind killer — prolyxin.

At first your natural instincts take over and you just kind of walk around numb. It really isn't something that other people can see, because you look the same — you walk the same, talk the same, act the same — but deep inside you everything is just numb. It has to be that way until you have the chance to put it all together again.

What human being could stand and hear another man just rip away what could very well be the rest of his natural life as casually as if he was making an appointment for lunch next week, and not feel himself go numb inside?

All the time you lay in the county jail you really don't believe it's going to happen to you. You know exactly what really happened — and you know the jury is supposed to be intelligent, rational people who can see, hear and think.

No matter how many times you've seen it happen, or how many times you've been through it — no matter how much you might know deep inside yourself that the truth won't always set you free — you keep telling yourself that maybe this time it will be different. Maybe this time the blindfold will come off, and the scales will balance. Maybe....

But when it is all over...when the judge has looked at you — all the time really looking through you, not seeing a person but just another "case" — you know. You always knew. There was never really any question about what was going to happen.

All the time the trial is going on you think about it being over, you wish it would end. But when it is over you want it to just be starting.

You think about all the things that weren't said. But most of all, in the beginning there was hope.

There was that constant something — that "maybe" tocling to, to keep you going. But now even that "maybe" is gone. So you just go numb inside.

When you stand there and hear the judges say those words, it's like there is no one in the world but you and him. Then when you turn around it's almost a shock to see everyone there. Mother, sisters, brother, friends. Each with their own reaction to what they just heard. Some too stunned to even show emotion. Some crying quietly. Some crying openly.

Everyone trying to find the words that will take away what you just heard — but there aren't any words for that. When you look at them, you can't stop the thought that flashes across your mind. You know it's selfish, but the thought is there for just that split second — "What are they crying for? I'm the one he just gave 100 years. I'm the one who is going to prison. Not them."

You know it's selfish, because you know they love you, and what hurts you also hurts them — but you have to be selfish then. You have to wipe everything from your mind but one thing — one driving compulsion — survival...

When you're in prison, whether it's for one year or for 100

years, you soon realize that just surviving isn't really enough. Survival means that you just continue to exist under the same conditions day after day — that you're satisfied just as long as you can keep getting up every morning and going to bed every night.

But unless you're totally conditioned to prison, institutionalized, something inside of you keeps telling you that there has to be a way to change things. To change the conditions that caused you to be here in the first place — and even to change the inhuman conditions where you are.

There are a lot of men in prison who are more or less content to simply exist while they are behind these walls — to just kind of shut out everything around them and look forward to the day when they will be released — always telling themselves that there really isn't anything they can do now, but they'll make whatever changes need to be made after they're released.

And when they are released,

they forget about that cell. They forget the nights they laid there alone, hurting inside for their freedom.

And because they forget — they come right back. They get caught in the same trap. Not because they want to, but because it's almost inevitable under the conditions in which most of them live — because most of them are young Black men who had to grow up believing that struggling to survive is a natural part of life.

But what about the men who aren't satisfied with that? What if you believe it's possible to make people understand that they don't have to passively accept things as they are? What if you believe that it's possible to make people understand that they do control their own lives? That they have the right to happiness, and success, and love just as much as any other person on this earth?

Prisons aren't the best place in the world to talk about change, because by their very nature they are deeply rooted in conditioning people to accept routine — to accept the same things day after day. Do the same things every day, eat the same food every day, talk the same talk, dream the same dreams (but never dare to reach for them — to make them reality).

The so-called experts have declared that rehabilitation doesn't work. That the only real purpose prisons should serve is punitive. Maybe so, but some people don't accept that reasoning and in spite of the almost inhuman conditions they endure, decide to take things in their own hands — to change themselves.

And isn't that really what rehabilitation is all about? Some feel that they have something worth saying — something that can make others feel the same desire to make changes in their lives. □

## Striking Oakland Teachers Return To Jobs

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

improvement.

Under the new contract, \$2.5 million will be spent the first year, \$2.6 million the second and \$2.8 million the third.

Concerning class-sizes, the new contract provides for a two-student reduction in maximum class sizes by 1979 (average class size is currently about 35), a possible increase in preparation periods for elementary teachers in 1979; continuation of existing evaluation procedures; and binding arbitration of the contract.

OEA teachers also agreed not to strike during the next three

years (last week's teachers' strike was the first in Oakland history) and the District promised to take no reprisals against striking teachers or students.

Many teachers were angered by the fact that the 1977 wage increase is only retroactive to October 15, instead of the standard July 1. The Board of Education said that it would use the funds that would have gone for raises between July and October to help offset the \$1.6 million in state aid it lost due to decreased student attendance during the strike. State aid is paid on the basis of student attend-

ance.

From the onset of the strike, parents and other community leaders, concerned about the loss to the education of their children, demanded that teachers return to their jobs while their contract was negotiated.

Some 80 per cent of the OUSD's 52,000 students are Black and minority. Results made public last week of Oakland's test scores on statewide standardized tests for public school children revealed that youth in this city have some of the poorest reading and mathematics skills in California. (See article, page 3.) □



# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton  
"Rebuilding"

*In this excerpt from the chapter "Rebuilding" in Revolutionary Suicide, Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton describes how Eldridge Cleaver attempted to undermine the Black Panther Party via nationwide television rather than resolve his difference within the Party's structure.*

While we made preparations, I talked a number of times with Eldridge by telephone, and although we had some disagreement about strategy and tactics, we did agree that the rally should come off as planned. However, doubt grew in our minds whether Kathleen would show up. We had good reason for uncertainty; at the Revolutionary Constitutional Convention in Washington the previous November, she had failed to appear. But when I expressed these doubts to Eldridge, he assured me that Kathleen would be there.

In addition to the Oakland rally, we were planning a series of meetings across the country featuring Kathleen and local speakers. These rallies were meant to attract people whom we could organize into groups to work for the various trials as well as participate in the survival programs the Party was developing.

In order to publicize the Intercommunal Day of Solidarity, I had agreed to appear on a local TV talk show. My appearance would be a means of using the oppressor's media to carry our message to the people. About three hours before the show, I had an idea and called Eldridge to discuss it with him. The TV show was one on which people called in to ask questions, but I suggested a reversal of this procedure.

The show's host would call Eldridge in Algeria, talk about the rally on the air, and announce that Kathleen was coming to speak. I knew this would arouse interest and increase attendance. Best of all, it would be done at the expense of the media. The station was enthusiastic. When I told Eldridge of the plan, he liked it, too, and said he would be prepared for the call.

When I arrived at the station that morning, I felt optimistic. We were getting the best local publicity; a large crowd would attend the rally; we had begun to build a strong base for our work to free political prisoners.

Then the call to Eldridge went

through, and the world turned upside down. At first I could not believe what he was doing. He launched into Party business — and not only Party business but Central Committee business, beginning with the Central Committee's expulsion of Connie Matthews Tabor, Cetawayo Tabor, the New York 21, and Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a Black Panther from Los Angeles.

All these Black Panthers were guilty of serious offenses — actions that had jeopardized other comrades and the Party. The New York 21 had written an open letter to the Weathermen saying that they felt the leadership of the Party had lost its revolutionary fervor and that the Weathermen were the true vanguard of the revolution.

## POSITION

That was all right with us if they wanted to take that position, but the Central Committee decided that with that statement the New York 21 had resigned from the Party. Expulsion was simply a Party recognition of that fact. In other cases, there was also ample evidence to justify the actions of the Central Committee.

Now, in this public setting, before thousands of viewers, Eldridge chose to disagree with the actions of the Central Committee. However, he did not attack me; he attacked David Hilliard, the Chief of Staff. Eldridge accused David of having allowed the Party to fall apart and said that we had expelled many loyal comrades without sufficient cause.

I disagreed with him and defended David. David had done a good job of sustaining the Party while I was in jail, often working with scant support, yet keeping things together from coast to coast. In my opinion, if anyone was at fault, it was me. Whatever

Black Panther Party President HUEY P. NEWTON.



wrongs there were in the Party, I said, I took full responsibility.

Very angry about Eldridge's stunt, I nevertheless kept calm, and after Eldridge and I finished talking, I answered questions from listeners. But my mind was no longer on the show. I was trying to figure out why Eldridge had pulled this act in public, particularly when just three hours earlier he had agreed to participate.

## DETAILS

What was going on? Even as I began to understand, as details fell into place in my mind, I still believed it was a contradiction that could be handled within the Party structure. It had not occurred to me that Eldridge might want to undermine the Party.

On leaving the TV studio, I went straight to a pay phone and placed a call to Eldridge. I had

been cool in public, but I was seething inside, and I wanted him to know my real feelings. When we were connected, I let him have it; he had shown no concern for the political prisoners, and on this occasion, when we had an unusual opportunity to make a major move to organize behind them, he had gone on an individualistic trip, talking madness.

## NEW HAVEN TRIAL

Bobby's New Haven trial was just beginning; we had no idea what the outcome would be, yet Eldridge had shown complete disregard for him and all others facing trial. When I finished, I flew to Boston, and there I called Eldridge again. What I did not know when I made those two calls was that I was not talking to a man but to a tape recorder. Eldridge taped my calls and then released them to NBC in New York, which played my "private, privileged" remonstrance over the American network. The Minister of Information had set me up. He was committing reactionary suicide and trying to take me down with him.

It soon became clear that Eldridge had organized a plot to subvert the work of the Party and sacrifice Bobby and Ericka to the Establishment. He had done this by questioning Party ideology and by attempting to turn a number of Black Panthers against the Party and the Central Committee.

TO BE CONTINUED

## THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

I want to help get Justice for Huey! Enclosed is my contribution toward Huey's legal defense:

☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ other \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (state amount)

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# OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROVIDES INNOVATIVE TESTING FOR BLACK YOUTH

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Thus, in a class of 10 children, there may be three or four different reading levels. Each child is given an appropriate reader and written work to strengthen reading skills. In addition, parents are encouraged to help their children with reading as well as their other subjects.

For years, I.Q. tests have been used by U.S. public schools to evaluate a child's intelligence. Black and poor children have generally scored low on these tests, due to their racial and cultural bias, and have wrongly been placed in classes for the "mentally retarded."

Consequently, six years ago a group of Black parents in San Francisco filed a federal lawsuit, which is now being heard, charging that I.Q. tests are racist and do not accurately reflect the intelligence or learning ability of Black youth. (See article, page 11.)

Discussing I.Q. and the use of other standardized tests at the OCS, Ericka said, "At the Oakland Community School we feel that standard testing measures are obsolete. A child's intelligence cannot be measured by how much he or she can assimilate the culture or superficial aspects of a society. I.Q. tests are, in part, based on these aspects."

"Intelligence cannot be judged by a test," Ericka continued. "For Black and other Third World children I.Q. tests are, in essence, a racist judgment of a child. The intelligence of Black children cannot be measured by how much they know of what is going on in the world today."

Elaborating on this point, Ericka explained, "The public school system is inadequate. The basics are not being taught to any children, regardless of color. Poor children, however, receive nothing, and Black children, specifically, receive the worst in low quality education."

"Therefore, their intelligence cannot be judged by I.Q. and other standard testing measures, including the Scholastic Aptitude

Test (SAT) and those higher level tests that students entering into colleges and universities take," Ericka said.

"We are very much concerned with the issues in the courts concerning I.Q. testing and other standardized testing because they are not an indication of any human being's intelligence or skills — not the tests by themselves," Ericka emphasized. "A Black person's intelligence has nothing to do with whether that person can speak correctly. It has to do with the very slow adaptation that we have made to this society because we came here as slaves and are still slaves."

"A number of Black, Spanish-speaking, Asian and Native American children are being placed in special education classes — those for the mentally retarded and educationally handicapped — in this country because of language barriers and family background," Ericka noted. "Anywhere in the country you may find a Black child who has 'normal' intelligence, but because that child has been placed in a special education class for four, five or maybe six years, is bound by the environment to be 'retarded' or 'educationally handicapped.'"

Expressing her concern over the failure of public schools to adequately educate children, Ericka mentioned an article she recently read in *Time* magazine.

"I do not hold too much credence with what I read in the established periodicals," she said, "but the article stated that colleges are complaining these days about their entering freshmen only being able to read at a sixth grade level. This says something about whatever testing measures are being used and the quality of education in public schools today."

While the OCS does not use I.Q. tests, the school regularly administers the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) to its children. "The CTBS is an old, standardized test which

gives us an impression of where our children are in reading and writing, comprehension, mathematics computation, science, and other basic skills," Ericka explained.

"We use the CTBS to compare our children to public school children," she continued, "and we have found that Oakland Community School children score two to three grade levels higher than their public school peers."

In addition, the OCS uses the CTBS, Ericka added, to "see if our children are retaining the knowledge given to them, regardless of the form in which it comes."

OCS instructors have expressed some concern about culturally biased language usage on the CTBS tests. Citing an example, Ericka said that the word "pop" is often used for father. "Black children say 'daddy,' not 'pop' or 'dad,' 'mommy' and not 'mother.' They use their own words for these terms, and it may be difficult for them to understand some words on the CTBS test," Ericka said.

The staff, however, is not overly concerned with the cultural bias of the test. "We feel that if the children have the proper understanding of the English language, they can score well on the language portion of the CTBS test," Ericka said.

"If they have a basic understanding of mathematical operations, then they can do a word problem that states: 'Johnny had \$1.00 and went to the store with his dog and little sister to buy a loaf of bread. They returned to their white house with a picket fence with \$.29. How much did Johnny spend?'"



Classroom scenes at innovative Oakland Community School, which is in its seventh year. Children attending the community-based East Oakland school perform two to three years higher than children attending Oakland public schools.



OCS director ERICKA HUGGINS on I.Q. tests, "For Black and Third World children I.Q. tests are, in essence, a racist judgment of a child."

"Now," Ericka explained, "we are not going to worry about Johnny, the picket fence, the house, the dog and those things that are foreign to Black and poor children. All we want to know is how much did Johnny spend if he had \$.29 in change. Two plus two will always equal four."

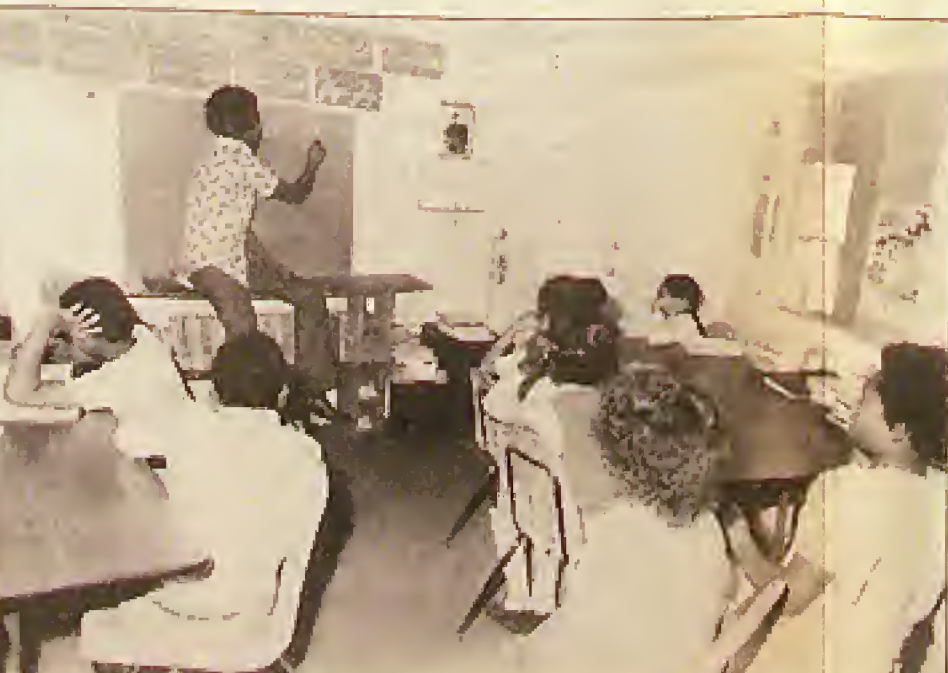
While the OCS administers the CTBS at least twice a year, Ericka noted that under California law, public school children need only be tested twice during a six-year period of elementary school, in the third and sixth grades.

"If a child does not learn between these three years," Ericka said, "then there will be no learning. Children in special education classes need only be tested, at the most, once every three years. That is ridiculous. The

testing that everyone is squawking about could not be an indication of intelligence because it isn't given often enough."

The need for creative educational programs and valid testing measures is crucial. The Oakland Community School is presently working on its own diagnostic tests gained through information from the children, parents and instructors, and designed from profiles gathered from various reading and mathematics series.

"We hope that we will be able to expose our testing to other schools and instructors and make it commonly known," Ericka said. "We want the children to be treated fairly. To judge a person's intelligence by an I.Q. score is totally unfair and for Black children, it is racist." □





# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

#### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

#### 2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

#### 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

#### 4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

#### 5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

#### 6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

#### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program

of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

#### 8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

#### 9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

#### 10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



## South Africa Imposes Sweeping Powers Over Foreign Industries

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Vindictively reacting to the United Nations arms embargo leveled against it, the South African government last week invoked sweeping powers that will force foreign-owned plants in the country to produce weapons and other strategic materials.

The special powers over industry were announced by "Minister of Economic Affairs" J. Christiaan Heunis in a proclamation published in the government's *Gazette*.

The extreme measures, unused since World War II, fall under the provisions of the National Supplies



South African "Prime Minister" JOHN VORSTER (center).

Procurement Act, a consolidation of wartime emergency powers.

Under the legislation, the White apartheid regime may order the production or delivery of materials considered necessary for the security of the country.

Despite Heunis' denials, it is very likely that the government will use the law to force private companies to produce weapons in order to fill shortages created by the arms embargo.

The unanimous vote taken on November 4 by the 15 members of the U.N. Security Council:

- Orders all countries to "cease forthwith" sending South Africa any arms, ammunition, military vehicles and equipment or spare parts;

- Calls on all states to review and eventually terminate existing contracts and licenses with South Africa for the manufacture of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## Intercommunal News



### SOWETO RENTS GO UP

## 626 BLACKS ARRESTED IN "TOWNSHIP" RAID

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Mounting its unrelenting crack-down on Black political protest, the South African government last week arrested 626 Azanians (Black South Africans) — 198 of them schoolchildren — outside this city in a six-hour, house-to-house raid.

The mass arrests on Thursday, November 10, took place in Atteridgeville-Faulsville "township." Police, who alleged that the raid was conducted to combat "criminal elements" in the "township," sealed off the area in the morning, stopping cars and buses from going in and out.

In Cardock, a sheep farming town about 450 miles south of

Johannesburg, police opened fire on 50 Azanian youth who stoned police vehicles. No injuries were reported.

A police commissioner for the northern Transvaal Province said that 410 Atteridgeville Azanians were arrested for passbook law violations and that the 198 schoolchildren were detained to determine if they were "children in need of care."

The White minority government operates "welfare" homes for Black children without families, and police said that each of the children would be investigated individually to assess whether they warranted placement in any of these homes.

A reporter on the scene said that police ordered bus and taxi passengers out of their vehicles at the main entrance to Atteridgeville. Black men were ordered to produce their passbooks, he said, and train passengers at the three stations serving the "township" were also stopped and checked.

Despite government denials, last week's house-to-house search was the result of the massive Black student boycott of classes. Youth here maintained their boycott of school examinations. Over 300,000 Azanian schoolchildren throughout South Africa are refusing to attend school and take examinations in the continuing three and one-half month-old protest.

Earlier this month, 87,000 primary and secondary Black youth in Soweto, South Africa's largest Black "township," demonstrated to protest end-of-year examinations. The country's Black students are protesting the racist Bantu educational system, which provides Azanians with an inferior education.

In Batho, near Blomfontein, Orange Free State, baton-wielding police dispersed protesting Black students chanting freedom songs and carrying placards with the slogan, "Away With Bantu Education." Fourteen arrests were made.

A Black youth was killed in the New Brighton Area near Port Elizabeth when police opened fire on a crowd of 300 protesting outside the court building where

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

## THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE TESTIFY AT INQUEST

## STEVE BIKO KEPT CHAINED AND NAKED DURING CONFINEMENT

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Drawing gasps of horror and anger from the Black spectators seated inside the crowded, converted synagogue here last week, White South African police officers testified at the opening of the Steve Biko inquest that:

•The martyred Azanian leader was found lying naked on a concrete prison cell floor, glassy-eyed, breathing heavily and foaming at the mouth the day before his September 12 death.

•The 30-year-old Black Consciousness Movement founder spent 19 of his 26 days in detention naked in a cell before being moved to an office where he was interrogated around the clock and kept shackled in handcuffs and leg irons almost continuously for 50 hours.

•Biko went "absolutely berserk" and hit the back of his head against a wall after throwing a chair at his White police interrogators, five of whom viciously subdued him.

The cause of this head injury, which Biko sustained on the left side of his forehead, was the burning issue in the first two days of the inquest into the death of the revered Azanian activist. The injury resulted in extensive brain damage that ultimately killed Biko.

Police maintain that the fatal blow was an accident, but Biko's family and supporters charge that the respected Azanian leader was tortured and mercilessly beaten to death by his police captors.

The widespread respect and popularity enjoyed by Biko caused last week's inquest hearing to take on "all the atmosphere of a trial," the *New York*



Over 20,000 people attended the funeral of Black leader STEVE BIKO.

*Times* reported.

Shortly before the inquest began, Mrs. Winnie Kgwere, the first president of the Black People's Convention (BPC), a group founded by Biko that was banned last month by the White apartheid regime, marched down the aisle of the hearing room waving a portrait of Biko ringed with purple flowers and shouting "Senzenina!" — meaning, "What have we done?"



Steve Biko's family (left to right) his brother, sister, his wife, NTSIKIE, and mother ALICE, attended inquest.



Earlier, outside the building, known as the Old Synagogue, demonstrating Azanians held up a portrait of Biko surrounded by a wreath. They clenched their fists and shouted "Amandla!" ("Power!").

As Biko's widow Ntsieki and mother Alice, both dressed in black, listened, Sergeant Paul Jansen Van Vuuren, who was in charge of Biko's cell at Walmer prison in Port Elizabeth — where the Black leader was detained until September 11 — testified on Monday, November 14.

Van Vuuren said that he came on duty at noon on September

AFRICA  
IN  
FOCUS

## Botswana

(Gaborone, Botswana) - The Botswana Defense Force (BDF) successfully counterattacked a recent invasion by Rhodesian security forces, *Hsinhua* news service reports. A statement issued by BDF headquarters here said that the Rhodesian forces fired mortars and small arms at a BDF observation post at the border town of Kazungula. The BDF returned the fire, with the arms exchange lasting four and one-half hours. In an earlier incident, three Rhodesian aircraft flew over the Botswana border village of Pandamatenga, strafing and bombing indiscriminately, and causing village residents to flee to a safer area.

## South Africa

(Peking, People's Republic of China) - Three African governments recently issued statements attacking South Africa's brutal repression of Black resistance to the White apartheid regime. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, in a message to the United Nations, said that the atrocities of the South African government must be met by action, not merely by verbal condemnation. Senegalese Prime Minister Abdou Diouf said in a declaration that all the provocations of the White minority regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia "can never stop the inevitable march towards emancipation of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia. The Cameroonian government issued a communique demanding that South Africa adhere to the numerous resolutions passed by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which call for Black majority rule in South Africa and Namibia.

## South Africa

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - The Transkei, the first "homeland" granted "independence" by South Africa, recently celebrated its first anniversary of self-rule, unrecognized by anyone except the Vorster regime, on which it depends for its economic survival. More than half of the 1977-78 Transkei budget of \$274 million is supplied by South Africa. The Transkei has stiff antisubversive laws, strikingly similar to those of its White-ruled neighbor.

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BOWHEAD WHALE ESSENTIAL PART OF SURVIVAL AND CULTURE

# ALASKAN ESKIMOS VOW RESISTANCE TO WHALING BAN

"Our total community — spirit, economy, legends, hopes — revolves around the whale. Our right to hunt the bowhead whale is older than the government. Nobody in his right mind would deny a culture its livelihood."

(New York, N.Y.) - So speaks Eskimo activist Charles Edwardson, Jr., as he expresses the feeling of his people in regard to a ban imposed by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) against hunting the bowhead whale.

For centuries, Eskimos from Alaska's North Slope have based



Alaskan Eskimo stands by whale jawbones (above) and (left) villagers preparing to go out on hunt.



their economy and culture on subsistence hunting of the bowhead whale. But their battle to survive in the world's harshest environment is now threatened by a June, 1977, vote of the IWC to ban their hunt, reports the *Liberation News Service*.

President Carter had until October 24 to file an official objection to the Commission's ban on Eskimo whaling. For awhile, it seemed as though the U.S. government was wavering between protecting the rights of

Alaska Natives or bending to the will of powerful conservationist organizations which favor the bowhead. But the deadline passed with no action from the U.S., and the ban holds firm.

The Eskimos also are holding firm.

"I will hunt until they arrest me," stated John Apangalook, a 66-year-old whaling captain. He hunts the giant bowhead from his small, walrus-skin covered boat in the icy waters between the Siberian mainland and St. Law-

rence Island, off Alaska's west coast.

The bowhead whale, which inhabits Arctic and sub-Arctic waters, averages 45-60 feet in length, and weighs about a ton per foot. Commercial hunting of bowheads has been prohibited by international agreement since 1931, but all further protection acts permitted continuing subsistence whaling by the Eskimo people — until last June.

Estimates of the bowhead population range widely from 600 to 3,000, with the annual reproduction rate speculated at four to five per cent of the population under good conditions. However, a lack of information on the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

## P.A.C. SPEECH

### "The End To White Minority Rule Can Only Come Through Violence"

The following is the conclusion of a stirring speech by Potlako K. Leballo, acting president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania, delivered at the U.N.-sponsored World Conference Against Apartheid, held in Lagos, Nigeria, on August 22 to 26, 1977.

#### CONCLUSION

A resolution calling for Permanent Observer Status to be granted to the Azanian national liberation movement was adopted at the International Seminar on Apartheid, held in Havana in May, 1976. The World Conference for Action Against Apartheid must uphold this call and prepare strategy for its adoption by the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The United Nations General Assembly has, in a resolution in 1975, stated that the Azanian



Militant Azanian youth.

people and their liberation movement are a special responsibility of the United Nations; this has to be translated into action during the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Particularly, action has to be taken to ensure that necessary assistance is granted by the United Nations to facilitate the diplomatic work of the Azanian liberation movement at the United Nations and other international forums, as well as to assist in the struggle to combat apartheid propaganda around the world.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## Mountie Spy Scandal Rocks Canada

(Ottawa, Canada) - The government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau acknowledged last week that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have been secretly opening mail for more than 20 years and confirmed reports of widespread, covert break-ins by Mounties.

The admission by Solicitor General Francis Fox touched off another uproar in Parliament, where allegations of government spying activities against opposition political parties and radical groups have become a scandal of Watergate proportions.

Fox's disclosure, made as he was questioned before the House of Commons, followed a report in a news broadcast the night before by the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

television network that the Mounties, the Canadian counterpart of the FBI, conducted a mail tampering project code-named "Operation Cathedral."

The next day, Fox confirmed the network's disclosure of break-ins since the middle 1950's to obtain information about suspected "communists" carried out in a program code-named "Operation 300."

The same day Fox acknowledged the break-ins, a Toronto newspaper revealed that the Mounties stole files from a Cuban trade mission in Montreal in 1972. The *Sun* reported that the Mounties took documents during confusion created by a bombing by Miami-based Cuban exiles in which one Cuban diplomat was

killed.

The *Sun* said the Mounties were working with the FBI in an attempt to link the trade mission, the Weathermen, the Black Panther Party and members of the radical Front de Liberation du Quebec.

Fox said that all the mail tampering had been done as part of the Mounties' security unit's program to suppress alleged espionage, subversion and terrorism. In some instances, he said, letters had been copied, resealed and returned to the postal system for delivery.

The solicitor general said that the confirmation of the mail tampering, obtained from high-ranking Mounted Police officials,

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## I.Q. Tests Perpetuate Dominance

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

son Riles, and the state and city Boards of Education.

Dr. Mercer's credentials as an expert witness are impressive. She is the author of "SOMPA — System of Multi-Cultural Pluralistic Assessment" which describes alternative methods of intelligence testing, and from 1962 to 1971, Dr. Mercer headed a pioneer study of discrimination in mental retardation labeling.

Cross-examined by Deputy Attorney General Joanne Condas, Dr. Mercer wouldn't say she thought "society was on trial" in the federal court case.

"But I think the institutional mechanisms, that have been used in this society for the purposes of maintaining the state's (California) practice as it is now, are," she replied.

Public education's history, Dr. Mercer said, shows that the dominant Anglo group used public schools "to Americanize, assimilate and Anglosize the children of migrant parents."

Since instruction is in English and deals mostly with Anglo tradition, "that means that every child in this society is judged by their ability to cope with the cultural materials of only one cultural group — that of the Anglo."

She said standard I.Q. tests "predict very well, of course, who

will perform well in this institution...That was the purpose for which they were designed."

The result, according to Dr. Mercer, is that "the tests have become extremely powerful instruments in screening out persons who do not conform in their cultural background to the Anglo mainstream."

Decisions based on the tests determine which children will be educated in regular classes in public schools and which will enter dead-end programs, like EMR classes, Dr. Mercer said.

"These tests have become one of the most crucial factors in determining who in this society is going to have access to the economic and cultural resources of this society," she said. "This is at the crux of who gets what in our society."

She said the issue was separate from the issues raised by the Allan Bakke case. (Bakke, who is White, claims a University of Cal-Davis minority admissions program discriminated against him.)

"We are talking about five, six and seven-year-old children here who barely have begun their education and decisions are being made (on the basis of I.Q. tests) about their future life chances and educations on the basis of very fragile instruments."

She said the tests are "poor



Black children are forced into inferior classes due to biased I.Q. tests.

predictors of future performance" by a child.

An examination of the I.Q. tests, Dr. Mercer said, "shows the questions, language and performances expected of children represent only one heritage."

She said standard intelligence tests "are not equally appropriate for children of all racial and ethnic groups being considered for placement in special education classes...and are discriminatory." □

World  
Scope

### Holland

(Amsterdam, Holland)- European and American narcotics officials say that Western Europe is in the grip of a heroin epidemic that is producing the fastest-growing addict population in the world.

The number of identified addicts in Western Europe has soared almost 1,000 per cent in five years, from 9,000 to 88,000.

"And for every one we've identified there are probably two more we don't know about yet," said Jan van Straten, head of national narcotics enforcement in the Netherlands.

While seizures of heroin in Western Europe last year totaled 703 kilograms (about 1,500 pounds), they totaled 520 kilograms in the U.S. Five years ago, European seizures totaled only about 25 pounds. Most of the heroin that finds its way to Europe is produced from poppies grown in the so-called Golden Triangle, the area where Thailand, Burma and Laos meet.

The growth of heroin use in Europe followed the end of the Vietnam War, when heroin dealers, deprived of a market among American soldiers, began to dump large supplies in Western Europe. The easy availability of heroin at a low price made it attractive for many European youth.

The principal gateway for delivery to Europe is this venerable Dutch city with its long history of contact with Southeast Asia. Of the 1,500 pounds seized in Europe last year, about 375 pounds were recovered in the Netherlands. Seizures so far this year are even higher, about 420 pounds.

### Haiti

(Port au Prince, Haiti) - More than 150 prisoners have died in a single prison here during the six-year regime of President Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier, Amnesty International (A.I.) charged last Monday. A.I., which won the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its work in behalf of political prisoners, urged Duvalier to publish information about prisoners who have died. It said details were withheld even from families. Two-hundred persons were executed in Ft. Dimanche prison during 1971-72.

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## ENTERTAINMENT

## "MEN OF BRONZE"

TV DOCUMENTARY HIGHLIGHTS  
"HARLEM HELLFIGHTERS"

Unlike "Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers" in World War II, the "Harlem Hellfighters" of World War I were cited for bravery and heroism in action, and deservedly so.

Fighting with the 4th French Army — and, in fact, in French uniforms, since the U.S. Army would not allow Black and White troops into combat together — these "Men of Bronze," to use the title of an excellent documentary shown last week on public broadcast stations, were engaged in frontline trench warfare for 191 straight days.

In the bloody battles of Champagne-Marne and Meuse-Argonne, key triumphs which saved the fall of an almost ruined France and led to the eventual Allied victory, the Black regiment from New York suffered some 1,500 casualties, over half its strength.

During that time, the "Harlem Hellfighters" never lost a foot of ground, nor did a single prisoner escape.

Two Black Americans from the regiment, Henry Johnson and Neeham Roberts, were credited with fighting off 24 German soldiers who attacked their "listening post" (Johnson sustained over 21 wounds), and were the first to win France's prestigious Croix de Guerre for individual heroism.

As advance troops of the French Army of Occupation, the Black New Yorkers were also the first to reach the Rhine River in Germany after the November 11, 1918 armistice.

The entire regiment was cited for gallantry in action.



MELVIN "Doc" MILLER joined the "Harlem Hellfighters" (369th Infantry Regiment) at the age of 16. The entire all-Black unit was cited for bravery in action in World War I.



Yet, as producer/director William Miles and cinematographer Richard Adams make painstakingly clear, the German Army was not the only "enemy" these "Men of Bronze" faced in battle.

Actually, the battle began in 1893 when a group of influential

New York Blacks petitioned for "a colored regiment of infantry."

The law for such a "colored regiment" was passed in 1913, but no action was taken until 1916 when the 15th Regiment of the New York State National Guard was formed.

The unit, headed by a White colonel named William Hayward, trained for trench warfare in the backyards and parks of Brooklyn and Harlem, and drilled in a little used dance hall uptown, 131st and 7th Streets.

Recruitment was slow at first, but the enlistment of popular band leader James Reese Europe and musician Noble Sissle provided a greater attraction. (Incidentally, Europe and Sissle went on to form one of the best military bands in history, and are credited with introducing jazz to Paris and much of Europe.)

Through 12 years of research, Miles and Adams were fortunate enough to find three former members of the 15th Regiment, Melville "Doc" Miller, (who was 16 when he first joined up and got

an officer to lie about his age), Frederick Williams, both Black, and Hamilton Fish, a White captain. Together, the three men, especially the fiery Miller, spice up fine documentary footage, with firsthand accounts of the "Harlem Hellfighters" in action.

Attached to the 27th Army Division, the brave men of the 15th Regiment were sent to Spartansburg, South Carolina, for combat training. Within two hours, however, as Miller remembers, "trouble started with the crackers," and the 15th was sent back North.

Even back in New York, the racism against the 15th continued unabated.

"I thought we'd war right here in America," Fish recalled, when an all-White unit from Alabama was preparing to tangle with the 15th, who had rifles but no munitions at the time. Somehow, though, the Black soldiers found some ammunition and the White troops backed down.

There was more of the same in Europe, too, at least from American troops, when the 15th Regiment arrived in France. The U.S. Marines were particularly hostile, Williams said: "We had to retaliate. Everytime we found one of our men dead, they (the Marines) found one of their men dead."

Originally assigned as stevedores, the regiment's commanding officer, Colonel Hamilton, spent three months persuading General Pershing, the head of the Allied Expeditionary Force, to allow the Black troops to engage in combat. Only the shaky situation of the French and English armies (combined one million killed) forced Pershing to use the Black soldiers.

"We turned in all our American equipment," Miller recalls. We were issued French helmets, French rifles, French ammunition, French canteens, and instead of water in the canteens, we were issued French wine."

As an historical oddity, it was when they were with the French army, fighting alongside Moroccan and Senegalese troops, that the 15th Regiment, the only regiment ever to leave the U.S. to fight in a war under a state flag, learned that they were now officially the 369th U.S. Army Infantry Regiment.

You get the impression that these "Men of Bronze," these heroic, dignified young Black men, could have cared less what the U.S. Army called them. To the French, and in their own minds, as Miller said proudly, the "Harlem Hellfighters" were "the best regiment in the whole damned United States Army." □

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## "The End To White Minority Rule"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

It has to be recognized that in its 1977-78 budget of \$10.3 billion, the South African racist regime made big increases for military and police spending (a common pattern since Sharpeville in 1960). The military is to get 21.3 per cent and the police 15 per cent increases on their previous budgets. At 1.8 billion dollars the military budget claims 18 per cent of the total. While the liberation movement does not hope to match the enemy's spending cent-for-cent, greater financial assistance is needed to cover the requirements of guerrillas already on the field inside Azania. PAC appeals for direct grants to ensure rapid deployment of such contributions for the development of the armed struggle at home.

The combatants in our ranks, including the hundreds upon hundreds of young veterans of the national uprising last year, and others who keep coming to join us abroad, readily endure hardships caused by our limited resources. But it cannot be gainsaid that there is a need to relieve these hardships. In addition to the desperately needed funds, PAC appeals for medical equipment; clothing; tents; communications equipment and radios; watches; books; bedsteads and blankets; and transportation. Preserved foodstuffs are much needed as well.

In conclusion, we happily observe that since last June, as was

Children in Soweto "township" outside of Johannesburg, South Africa.



the case after Sharpeville, there has been an upsurge in the international campaign against apartheid South Africa. Much as the PAC's External Mission has been greatly extended because of requests to give a lead at various types of activities organized by support groups in the five continents, PAC stands ready to continue providing speakers, panelists and organizers.

Growing as the campaign is, there can be no room for complacency: a lot remains to be done in conscientizing public opinion in many countries — particularly in the West, Japan and in Australia. Condemnations of South Africa's apartheid policies by Western governments have increased in volume but not necessarily in concrete actions.

Successes scored over the sports boycott of South Africa, for instance, stand in jeopardy and renewed efforts must be made to support the position taken by the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa: the total ban of sports contact with South Africa.

Also, grassroot and other mass action can and will play a decisive role in forcing governments to review their economic, trade, diplomatic, military and other links with Pretoria.

The World Conference for Action against Apartheid will become the historical landmark it deserves to be only if participants respect their own decisions, which we expect to be far-reaching ones, by acting to ensure their implementation at national and international levels. □

## South Africa Imposes Sweeping Powers Over Foreign Industries

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

arms; and

•Forbids any cooperation with the White minority government to help it develop nuclear weapons.

Companies who refuse to comply with government demands for goods may have their premises entered and their goods seized. Company officers who resist may be fined as much as \$2,250 and jailed for up to two years.

While Heunis said that the measures will apply to South African-based companies as well as foreign-owned ones, he made it clear that the government's primary concern is with foreign businesses. It is estimated that 80 per cent of the private sector's production capacity is entirely or partly foreign-owned or dependent on foreign financing.

"Prime Minister" John Vorster, in a bitter tirade on the U.N. arms sanctions — the first such

action taken against a country in the 32 years of the U.N.'s history — told an election rally that neither the arms embargo or a possible oil embargo would bring his country to its knees.



Azanian children.

"We have made provision so that they cannot kill us," he declared before cheering members of his National Party (N.P.). The N.P. is expected to easily win the November 30 "election" and

continue its vicious apartheid policies. Few if any Blacks will be allowed to vote in the bogus "election."

The 49 Black-ruled African countries in the U.N. were instrumental in getting the arms embargo approved. Vorster had particularly harsh words for oil-exporting African nations, which he insisted had pressured the U.S. into voting for the arms sanctions.

Singling out Nigeria, which belongs to the 13-nation Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OOEC), the South African "prime minister" called the West African nation a "cruel military dictatorship."

"I am getting a bit sick and tired of that sort of morality based on oil. I am sick and tired of examples being held up to me of military dictatorships where there is no freedom at all. Nigeria is respectable because it has oil." □

## INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

### Puerto Rico

(San Juan, Puerto Rico) - Thousands of union members, protesting the police murder of a union organizer, staged a march here last week that paralyzed most public transportation and virtually all truck traffic. An ad hoc group of 37 militant trade unions demanded that Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo name a special committee of respected citizens or jurists to investigate charges that a police "death squad" murdered Teamsters' organizer Juan Rafael Caballero. Caballero's body was found October 24 alongside a road in El Yunque Rain Forest. He was bound with an electric cord and strangled. Although a pathologist said that Caballero had been dead about eight to 10 days, the Teamsters have sworn statements from people who saw the union organizer in custody at police headquarters October 21.

### Mexico

(Agua Prieta, Sonora, Mexico) - Following the recent acquittal by an all-White jury of two members of a prominent White ranching family of Douglass, Arizona, for kidnapping and torturing three Mexican farmworkers, angry residents of this border town and the Chicano community of Douglass have mounted a boycott to back their demand for a U.S. Justice Department investigation of the incident and the trial. The acquittal of Pat and Tom Hangan for the abduction and burning of Manuel Garcia, Bernabe Mata and Eleasar Zavala sparked a demonstration in Tucson, Arizona, by 1,500 people on both sides of the border recently.

### Cuba

(Havana, Cuba) - Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has once again demanded that the U.S. lift its economic blockade against his country. At a press conference during his recent visit to Jamaica, which was transmitted by Cuban television, Castro said relations between the U.S. and Cuba will not be normalized until the blockade is lifted. Castro said that Cuban sugar, nickel, tobacco, rum and other products would be fundamental in prospective economic relations with the U.S.



## SPORTS BRIEFS

### Kareem Abdul-Jabbar Charges "Double Standard" In N.B.A.

(Inglewood, Calif.) - Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, commenting last week on his \$5,000 fine for punching Milwaukee rookie Kent Benson October 18, leveled sharp criticism at National Basketball Association (NBA) Commissioner Larry O'Brien for not taking any disciplinary action against the 6'11", 245-pound center.

Speaking at a Forum news conference here, the Lakers' All-Star, 7'2" center said, "I am extremely upset that the league office not only imposed no fine on Benson but failed in its public pronouncements about the incident even to recognize the responsibility Benson has.

"...The film clips confirm my view of what happened. If the league office had any questions about what happened, it might have at least asked the participants to give their views prior to making a decision.

"Surely, the fact that the referees did not see the foul on me does not justify the commissioner's inaction or silence on the matter, particularly since he was not inactive or silent about my conduct.

"There is a double standard," Abdul-Jabbar said. "...Officials feel I have an advantage because of my height and talent. I know I couldn't get away with what players do when they guard me. I remember what happened in the South in the civil rights period. That was a reaction to years of a double standard. Well, there's a double standard in this league and I'm not insensitive to it."

Abdul-Jabbar, a five-time Most Valuable Player, fractured his right hand when he hit Benson in retaliation for being elbowed repeatedly in the stomach by the opposing center. O'Brien acknowledged that Benson, who suffered a mild concussion, committed a flagrant foul in the incident but refused to take any disciplinary action against the White center.

O.J. SIMPSON SEEKS RECOGNITION AS "THE BEST OF HIS TIME"

## "THE JUICE" SIDELINED BY KNEE INJURY

(Buffalo, N.Y.) - O.J. "The Juice" Simpson, professional football's premier running back, underwent surgery last week to repair a torn cartilage in his left knee, casting doubt on whether he would continue his National Football League (NFL) career.

Although Simpson stated last week that he would definitely be back, it is known that the play of his floundering team, the Buffalo Bills (2-7), has demoralized him.

Four years ago, according to a *Los Angeles Times* feature, when Simpson was asked about the possibility of getting injured, he responded, "Listen, man, do we have to talk about this? I don't want to talk about injuries. I never think about getting hurt."

Simpson needs about 2,000 more yards to break Jim Brown's career rushing record of 12,212 yards, which was once thought to be unattainable. Even if O.J. doesn't match this feat, he has accomplished feats that his fans will never forget:

- In the last game of the 1972 season he ran for 101 yards against the Super Bowl-bound Washington Redskins — the first runner to do so against the Redskins that season. In the fourth quarter he broke loose from three tackles on a 21-yard touchdown run to key a 24-17 upset by the Bills.

- In a 1975 game against the powerful Pittsburgh Steelers, who were on their way to their second straight Super Bowl, "The



Juice" rambled for 228 yards, including an 88-yard touchdown run. The Black running back led the Bills to a 30-28 upset of the Steelers and may have had the greatest day any runner ever accomplished against what has been called the greatest defensive team ever.

- During a game in Shea Stadium against the New York Jets, Simpson sloshed through the mud to break Jim Brown's single-season rushing record and went on to crack the unthinkable 2,000 yard barrier.

Probably the event that will be remembered the longest is when



Football's most exciting running back, O.J. SIMPSON, will be sidelined for the rest of the season due to a knee injury.

Simpson refused to meet the news media after the game unless the Bills' entire offensive team was also present. In professional football and most other pro sports, this kind of selfless team spirit is almost unheard of.

O.J. Simpson has said he wants to be remembered as "the best of his time." After the game in which Simpson ran through the mighty Pittsburgh Steelers for 228 yards, Steeler defensive end Dwight White gave another description of Simpson:

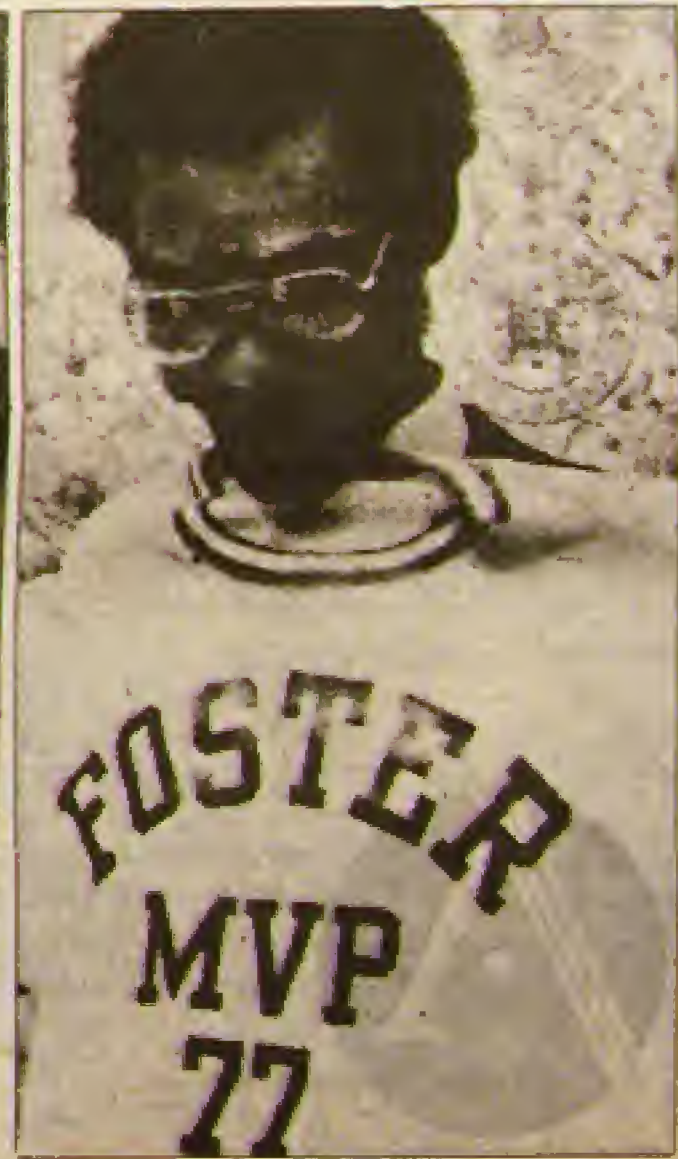
"He slithers, he leaps, he hurdles, he accelerates and changes directions. Use all the adjectives you can think of, then, at the end of them, add another." □

### George Foster Wins M.V.P. Award

(Cincinnati, Ohio) - Cincinnati Reds outfielder GEORGE FOSTER recently received the prestigious National League's Most Valuable Player award following one of the most amazing power-hitting seasons in recent years.

The son of an Alabama cotton farmer, the Black slugger clearly established himself as the premier power-hitter in professional baseball. Foster's brilliant, all-around 1977 performance included batting .320, among the league leaders in that category, led the league with 52 home runs and 149 runs batted in, and became the fifth National League player to top 50 homers. Hack Wilson, Ralph Kiner, Johnny Mize and Willie Mays were the others.

Foster's 149 runs batted in were the most by a National Leaguer since Black Los Angeles Dodgers' leftfielder Tommy Davis drove in 153 in 1962.





## Steve Biko Kept Chained And Naked During Confinement

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

11 and visited Biko's cell at 3 p.m. and again at 4 p.m. On the first visit, he said that Biko was lying on his cell mat.

"An hour later," the police sergeant explained, "he was lying naked on the cement about three feet away from the mat. There was foam around his mouth, his breathing was rapid and his eyes appeared glassy. I tried to fresh him with drinking water which was near his mat.

"After a while," Van Vuuren continued, "I realized his condition was unchanged. I then dragged him back to his mat and covered him with blankets."

750 MILES

[Despite his condition, later the same day Biko was driven by car 750 miles to Pretoria where he died in jail the next day.]

Shown a picture of Biko, placed in evidence as an exhibit that showed the head injury of the murdered father of two young children, Van Vuuren alleged that he never saw Biko in that condition.

Major Harold Snyman, the officer in charge of Biko's interrogation, was cross-examined relentlessly for 90 minutes by Sydney Kentridge, a leading White lawyer in South Africa who is heading the Biko family's three-person legal team.

Snyman said that the incident in which Biko threw a chair at his White interrogators took place on September 7, five days before his death. It was during a scuffle with the five police officers who subdued Biko that Snyman said he "must have hit the back of his head against the wall."

Magistrate Martinus Prins, the presiding judge at the inquest, asked Snyman, "Is that an

*Azanian woman holds up poster of slain activist STEVE BIKO, murdered by South African police.*



inference? Did you hear or see the fall?"

"It's an inference," Snyman replied.

The police major's story became even shakier during later testimony. It was revealed that over a period of five weeks after Biko's death, Snyman gave three sworn accounts of the alleged struggle, describing the possible blow to the Black leader's head only in the last account after a senior police officer had shown him an autopsy photograph showing a scarred wound on Biko's forehead.

Kentridge produced the leg irons used to shackle Biko in the interrogation room at Pretoria police headquarters. Pointing out that the shackles were unnecessary since the sixth floor room was guarded around the clock by at least three men, Kentridge asked Snyman why Biko was so brutally chained.

"Was it to try and break the man down?" Kentridge demanded.

## 626 Blacks Arrested In "Township" Raid — Soweto Rents Go Up

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

471 innocent Azanians were detained.

Meanwhile, the "Bantu Administration" announced that rents will go up in Soweto "township" beginning on De-

cember 1. In some cases the increases, to be phased in over a seven-month period, will amount to 80 per cent.

Six months ago when the government announced rent increases, thousands of young

Snyman said Biko was kept naked during most of his confinement to prevent him from committing suicide.

A report submitted by one of three doctors who examined Biko prior to his death alleged that the Black activist made no complaints during repeated medical examinations in the last week of his life.

Despite symptoms that included a weakening of his limbs and samples that showed his brain fluid to be bloodstained, the trio of doctors strangely failed to diagnose the brain damage that killed Biko.

A state pathologist and two independent forensic experts, one representing the Biko family, issued a unanimous report stating that Biko's brain was damaged in several areas and that the bruise on his left forehead was nearly four inches square.

The forensic report also revealed that Biko had a mass of minor burns, bruises and abrasions on at least 25 different parts of his body. □

Azanians, backed by their parents, took to the streets to protest the apartheid regime's plan. As a result, the rent hike was postponed.

Overall, Black response to the repression of recent weeks has been to intensify resistance to the White minority government but to do so on a more clandestine level.

"It's more difficult to organize openly and some people are lying low," a reporter for the banned Black newspaper, the *World*, explained.

"We've passed the point where it makes any sense for teenagers to run in front of the guns every time the White man does something more oppressive. We're more sophisticated and more serious." □

## Mountie Spying Scandal Rocks Canada

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

contradicted repeated denials by senior officers last summer during an inquiry into charges of other illegal activity by the Mounties' security unit.

Fox said that the new information had been turned over to the minister of justice and attorney general, Ronald Basford, and to a royal commission investigating earlier charges.

These latest revelations join a growing list of illegal activities by Mounties that have surfaced in recent weeks, originating with a continuing inquiry by Quebec provincial authorities into the federal police break-in at the offices of a left-wing, French separatist news agency in Montreal during the early 1970's.

The inquiry turned up testimony that the Mounties also burglarized the headquarters of the separatist Partis Quebecois, now the ruling party in Quebec, and stole membership lists and financial records.

In another case, the Mounties are accused of having burned down a converted barn near Montreal. The federal police said that it had acted to prevent a meeting of Quebec radicals with members of the Oakland-based Black Panther Party.

### EVIDENCE

Evidence has also recently been produced in Parliament that offices of the major opposing parties, the Progressive Conservatives and the New Democrats, were broken into and bugged, with opposition members of Parliament pointing the finger at the embattled Mounties.

Following the disclosure, Prime Minister Trudeau, addressing a stormy session of Parliament, accused the opposition of impugning the reputation of the Mounties. Speaker of the House James Jerome subsequently announced that Ottawa city police were called in to investigate the bugging of Progressive Conservative Elmer MacKay's office chair.

Also last week, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that informants for the Mounties "have penetrated practically all important levels of every government department."

Quoting unnamed sources, the paper said that spies held jobs that "run the gamut from janitors to secretaries to top-level civil servants," adding that "a top-notch informant will make as much as \$10,000 a year from the police, on top of a normal salary." □



*South African police terrorize Black people in "township." Government repression against anti-apartheid forces continues to mount.*



## Kids, Poverty

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

dren.

And though the Council doesn't provide the individual cases that transform its statistics into concrete human terms, such cases are not hard to find. Take the following examples:

•In Chicago, Dwight Battles, 25, was unemployed. He was unable to keep up with the bills and the lights and gas were turned off. His two children, Stephanie, 3, and Audrey, 2, became nervous, hungry and upset. "They started crying. For two days they cried for something to eat," reported the *Chicago Daily Defender*, the city's Black newspaper.

Finally, a drunken Battles allegedly beat the two young girls to death in an effort to stop their crying. He was charged with murder.

•In Harlem, New York City, thousands of young children have turned to drug running to supplement the meager incomes of their families.

### HELP MY FAMILY

"I was spending my money to help my family," said Janet P., who was arrested when she was 15 for selling drugs. "I started cutting dope on the kitchen table of my family's apartment when I was 13.

"Mom didn't care if I ever went back to school so long as I brought in the money," Janet explained.

"I got her a washing machine, bought clothes for my sisters and brothers."

In all these cases, a typical reaction would be to blame the parents — a reaction strongly attacked by the Council.

"Blaming parents and giving them advice both spring from the assumption that the problems of individuals can be solved by the individuals who have the problems," the Council's report states.

"Families are not now, nor were they ever, the self-sufficient building blocks of society, exclusively responsible, praiseworthy and blamable for their own destiny," the report continues.

"They are deeply influenced by broad social and economic forces over which they have little control."

Although blaming the victim and lack of decent-paying jobs are two of the major themes of the report, there is a third, equally important point stressed by the Council: in all areas, the crisis of poverty hits hardest at minority children.

"Here the statistics become truly chilling," the report warns. □

## Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

ashamed, I mean it's a sad thing to see the mentality that some of our brothers and sisters possess. Forgive me, but it's the truth. Brother Huey once said time brings on change, but change brings adjustment.

Brothers and sisters I have ideas that I would like to share with a strong brother or sister, so if you get the chance, write me a letter and let me know what's happening out there, because I will be out soon and if I can find myself a nice apartment and a real strong sister, then California here I come.

So I send greetings from all the comrades that have gone before us, from Nat Turner to George Jackson. "Power To The Struggling People."

Brother William Brewer

### "EDUCATE TO LIBERATE"

To Our Comrades In Exile,

In relating to our struggles and our insight as to why we struggle, we must desperately relate these experiences on to our children and women to make them realize how serious the liberation struggle is. Many brothers and sisters, such as the unaware, have never truly understood as to why we stress the importance of learning and teaching "revolutionary tactics" to the masses of Black people.

Many of us never realize how bitter oppression is until we are incarcerated or lose that feeling of security that so many Black people get when they are in the plenty. This kind of social reasoning must stop now. Black people in America must now align themselves with the liberation struggle of all Third World people. Black men, women and children must be taught the teaching of liberational tactics and strategies. We brothers who are now or have been incarcerated must take our time and use it for studying tactics and the ways of revolutionary survival and pass them on to our brothers and sisters who are illiterate to liberation and the ties we have with our Third World brothers. We must never surrender ourselves to oppression by our enemies. "Educate to Liberate" should be our theme for the liberation of all oppression throughout this oppressed world.

Comrade in exile,

"VES" Corley

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J and E Liquor  
Fred's Liquor #2  
Hi Standard Liquor  
S and H Liquor  
A and D Liquor  
Ralph's Liquor  
Rocket Liquor  
S and S Liquor  
O and J Liquor  
M and H Liquor  
Swing Time Cleaners  
Friendly Liquor Store  
Dave's Corner Liquor  
East/West Restaurant  
Gem Cleaners  
Party Shop  
Neighborhood Pharmacy  
B and W Market  
Times Square Liquor  
A and F Liquor  
International Coiffures  
Lucky Liquor  
The Hut Clothing  
Sweet Pee's Restaurant  
The Liquor Bank  
Moore's Wines & Spirits Liquor



1506 W. 7th Street  
2489 W. Washington Blvd.  
5000 S. Central Ave.  
4715 S. Central Ave.  
4111 S. Main Street  
79th and Figueroa  
6301 S. Broadway  
106 W. Manchester Ave.  
7318 S. San Pedro St.  
8424 S. San Pedro St.  
11514 1/2 S. Central Ave.  
11202 S. Central Ave.  
8910 S. Central Ave.  
8608 S. Central Ave.  
7932 S. Central Ave.  
7803 S. Central Ave.  
1261 E. Florence Ave.  
4881 S. Compton Ave.  
10817 S. Central Ave.  
8618 S. Central Ave.  
5107 S. Central Ave.  
1403 W. 54th Street  
6800 S. Main Street  
4200 S. Broadway  
5601 S. Main Street  
3440 W. 43rd St.  
6107 S. Vermont  
5515 S. Vermont  
4020 W. Buckingham  
3600 W. Stocker  
4339 W. Adams Blvd.

## Alaskan Eskimos Vow Resistance

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

bowhead has made it impossible to judge the effects of the Eskimo harvest of the bowhead on the whale's population, according to recent National Marine Fisheries Service reports.

The bowhead forms an essential part of the Eskimo diet, which requires adequate fat and protein to protect against the extreme cold. Seventy per cent of the families in the seven whaling villages obtain most of their food from the spring bowhead hunt.

"If you ban whaling," said Eskimo Eleanor Oozeva, "you will take the food right off our children's plates."

"The Eskimo people have been betrayed," charged the Eskimo Whaling Commission in response to the recent U.S. government decision.

"We have told our story about the whale hunt and what it means to our culture. We have participated at hearings in Washington and in Alaska where government officials learned first hand about the interdependency of the Eskimo and the bowhead... We ourselves have undertaken to eliminate some of the abuses that have crept into our subsistence hunt.

"You ask us how we feel? How would you feel? Angry? Frustrated? Sad? We feel all those things.

"...We shall do everything in our power to right the injustice done to us and force the United States to pursue a course which favors human dignity..." □

### SUPPORT ZANU



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For information, write:  
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ZANU CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE  
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88-35164 STREET  
3DS JAMAICA, NEW YORK 11432  
(212) 657-2284



# F.B.I. Secret War Against The B.P.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

spired and incited by the federal police bureau had ended.

Yet, this 1973 FBI report reveals boldly:

"Bank accounts utilized by the BPP are monitored on a regular basis."

And still, in 1973, as the report exposes, infiltration and disruption were both well within the FBI's bag of dirty tricks:

"To date an informant close to Newton who does not have day-to-day contact with BPP rank and file has not been developed or placed, although Newton's movements and activities are being followed by informants with the BPP in general."

DISCONTINUED

"During the period September, 1972, through 2/26/73, when the program was discontinued on Bureau authority, the San Francisco office conducted an active program aimed at development of a high level BPP informant; extensive efforts in this regard were made by a special squad of the San Francisco office but were rebuffed by those BPP members close to Newton...San Francisco is cognizant of the need to penetrate the leadership of the BPP and remains alert to recognize and exploit every opportunity in this regard."

The very next day after this report, on June 28, 1973, the S.F. special agent-in-charge evidently came up with a new ploy, as is evidenced from his brief request:

"Huey Percy Newton, co-founder and leader of the Black Panther Party (BPP), resides at 1200 Lakeshore Avenue, Apartment 25-A, Oakland, California."

"The Bureau is requested to obtain copies from the Internal Revenue Service of the income tax returns, if any, filed by Newton for the years 1971 and 1972."

The report is captioned "Key Extremist Program, EM."

Concerted federal police attempts to discredit BPP President Huey P. Newton have a long and often involved history.

So determined was the FBI to discredit Huey, that their reports often took the tone of rhetoric-filled political tracts. Witness the following August 24, 1970, report sent from the New York FBI office to the late Bureau czar J. Edgar Hoover:

"Huey Newton, Minister of Defense, and one of the founders of the extremely dangerous and violent BPP, was recently released from prison after his conviction for manslaughter (killing of a police officer), was upset



HUEY P. NEWTON

on appeal. Newton is the spiritual father of the BPP who is venerated by BPP members along with Mao Tse-Tung, Kim Il Sung, Che Guevara, and Fidel Castro. To demythicize Newton, to hold him up to ridicule, and to tarnish his image among BPP members can serve to weaken BPP solidarity and disrupt its revolutionary and violent aims.

"New York has submitted three excellent anonymous letters which, with some revisions, should have the 3-pronged effect of creating divisiveness among BPP members concerning Newton, treat him in a flippant and irreverent manner, and insinuate that he has been cooperating with police to gain his release from prison."

"Letter No. 1 is addressed to the

New York City Panther office from an anonymous White businessman who has been contributing to the Panthers but who states his reasons for refusing to contribute to the support of Newton, who has announced he will set up headquarters in New York."

"Letter No. 2 purports to be a BPP press release to be mailed to ethnic organizations and underground-type newspapers indicating that the Panthers are stuck with 15,000 'Free Huey' posters and buttons now that Newton has been released from prison. The press release goes on to say that the posters were offered free to supporters of former Mayor Hugh Addonizio of Newark, New Jersey, recently convicted on charges of bribery."

"The third letter, to be mailed from San Francisco to the New York BPP office, purports to be from a prison employee indicating Newton had cooperated with state authorities to effect his release. This letter has been slightly changed since New York's version did not appear to be authentic."

This was the content of the FBI's "anonymous" letter #2, a BPP "press release":

"An official of the Black Panther Party in New York City announced today that the recent release from jail of Huey P. Newton, national leader of that group, came before it was possible to cancel orders for over 15,000 'Free Huey' buttons and posters."

"It looks like we're stuck with them," announced the aforementioned Panther official, "even though we offered them for free to the supporters of former Mayor Hugh Addonizio of Newark, New Jersey." Addonizio was recently convicted in a federal court in New Jersey on the charge of bribery.

"When quired about the difference in spellings of the first names of Newton and Addonizio as the possible reason for the refusal of the offer of the free buttons and posters, the Panther official stated, 'Most of those guineas can hardly read let alone spell. So what difference would that make.'"

IN THE FIRE

A February 24, 1971, report shows the New Orleans FBI office had its irons in the fire as well:

"As a second counterintelligence proposal, it is suggested that a fictitious bank account record be created in the name of Huey P. Newton through an appropriate bank which will cooperate with the Bureau confidentially. A photostat of a false ledger card could be prepared and mailed to [BPP] national headquarters anonymously along with an appropriate letter condemning Newton. The account should show regular sizable deposits over a period of several years and have a sizable balance existing."

Recently, in a sworn affidavit former U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi claims that he ended an FBI "domestic security investigation" against Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party in late 1976.

But, if COINTELPRO ended in 1971, what did the FBI call its program against the BPP in 1973? And if Levi claims a "domestic security investigation" ended in 1976, what does the FBI call its program against the BPP in 1977?

## Mini-Market For Seniors

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

rides to the OCLC from the SAFE Free Transportation program.

Not only did they get a chance to get groceries at low prices but many were also able to meet new friends. Most government-sponsored nutrition programs operate on a five-day week but the Mini-Market will enable seniors to prepare their own meals seven days a week.

Some of the extremely low prices found at the Mini-Market were: eggs, 66 cents a dozen;

bananas, seven cents each; apples, seven cents each; onions, eight cents each; tomatoes, 12 cents each; and yams, 21 cents each. Quality meats, also at reduced prices, will be offered on a once-a-month basis.

In the near future the SAFE Club will be establishing another Mini-Market at the George Jackson Clinic, 3236 Adeline Street in Berkeley, to serve senior citizens in the North Oakland/Berkeley area. For more information, please call the SAFE program at 562-5261 or 562-5262. □



# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

## GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

## THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

## PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

## PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

## PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

## FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

## FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

## FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

## PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

## SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

## PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



FREE BUSING PROGRAM

## PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

## FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

## FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

## SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

## PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

## PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

## FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

## OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

## LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



FREE FOOD PROGRAM



# FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL PROVIDES NO NEW JOBS

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

sional sponsors of the bill, that the nation's press, almost unanimously, rejected it.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*:

"...The measure will do little more than say again what the government has been saying for 30 years; that the nation should try to achieve so-called full employment..."

"The compromise bill's toothless nature — conceded by sources on both sides of the negotiations — was an unusually clear reflection of the fact that conservative and liberal politicians alike are increasingly doubtful that the government can manage the nation's economy successfully.

"...Flexibility, sources said, was a key change. It was accomplished by removing language previously in the bill that would have required annual employment targets to be met, with a public accounting rendered to Congress and the public if they were not.

"Another key dilution of the original bill, sources said, was the elimination of any mandatory provision for providing a government financed job for any would-be worker who could not find one in private industry.

"Thus, the major provision left in the bill was the requirement that Presidents submit publicly each year a plan of economic management, setting targets for job expansion and other key economic variables. Carter is doing this already, to a large extent; the bill would merely make the process formal and mandatory for all Presidents."

The *Chicago-Sun Times* had this to say:

"In a coup for the Carter

*Black people wait impatiently at unemployment office.*



administration, a coalition of Black and labor leaders has accepted a watered-down Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill that in itself wouldn't create any jobs....

"Unlike previous versions that President Carter resisted as inflationary, this one doesn't mandate or directly authorize any specific job-providing actions.

"Although a pallid shadow of the original bill, which would have required the federal government to hire everyone who couldn't find a job in private industry, the compromise bill won the unanimous endorsement of the 31-

member National Committee for Full Employment..."

"Since January, Carter's economic advisers have fretted about how to get around a campaign commitment Carter grudgingly made to Humphrey-Hawkins last year to appease Blacks outraged by his 'ethnic purity' remark. Charles L. Schultze, Carter's top economist, vigorously opposed the measure as ill-conceived and dangerously inflationary — an opinion shared by Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal and others.

"But for political reasons, it was clear that the pledge had to be kept. Rising joblessness among Blacks and the widespread discontent of labor had undercut Carter's support in two constituencies credited with putting him in office. Any further alienation couldn't be risked.

"In the end Schultze proved to be the consummate bargainer. He talked the bill's sponsors out of about everything the administration found objectionable,

transforming the legislation from a big economic stimulant to a mere policy pronouncement.

"What it boils down to is a statutory affirmation that every American has the 'right' to a job without any obligation for the federal government to provide him one."

The *New York Times* editorialized:

"The so-called Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, which is about to be embraced by the White House, the Congressional Black Caucus and the nation's leading liberal politicians, is not the grand achievement of modern economic policy that its proponents proclaim. It is a gesture from a government overly enchanted with symbols, a promise from a government that should mind its promises, a flag for politicians to wave when next they need to demonstrate concern for the unemployed. *It will not, however, solve the nation's unemployment problem....*

"The measure is no longer the ambitious commitment its sponsors intended in 1975. Senator Humphrey and Representative Hawkins at first proposed that the government become the employer of 'last resort' for anyone who wanted work — an idea that struck many as inflationary and most as unmanageable. It was meant to reduce unemployment to 3 per cent within 18 months. The latest Humphrey-Hawkins bill...will probably speak of every citizen's right to a job, but it will do little to guarantee that right.

"There may be a need for assigning new responsibility in Washington for the planning of a full-employment strategy. The bill may provide this. But insofar as it pretends to produce jobs or to guarantee jobs as a right of citizenship, it is a hollow promise...." □

## Jobs Hearing Held In Oakland

(Oakland, Calif.) - Oakland Mayor LIONEL WILSON was the opening speaker last Wednesday at a special Congressional hearing on employment and federal spending. Co-chaired by Congressional Black Caucus members Representative RONALD DELLUMS and Representative AUGUSTUS HAWKINS (inset, right and center, with Representative THEODORE WEISS, left), the hearing was sponsored by the Employment Opportunities Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). See next week's issue of *THE BLACK PANTHER* for complete details.

